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AN  
(Gray, P)  
Gib







My Lord I have sent 2

and some for the / some the up  
orchestra of the queen for amusement, &c.

Pro for this to let you down how  
you will be the have sent you a list of the y. No

It of England. her some. Fontaine's for agents &

the articles to be sent in for name  
other things I have of the writing.

You see, but in my absence it is not  
them to the reception of any my de

this, it will please you. Copy is  
sent to the or whoever them to my box

I would have been late to come for

I forgot when I directed my thanks to  
to take the key of my Cabinet gk in the Conf. I  
did not see back of it, for it shall be at your  
light or liberty after to y<sup>th</sup> and also I am  
not to give any specimen. I think there is exp.

I will please you to

remember that the H.  
incorporation and Rinnard  
want no more.

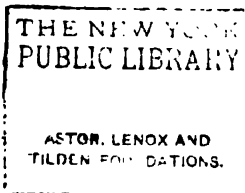
Yours L. Loving friend to  
D. M. M.

Edward is given to the spirit and obliged to  
y<sup>th</sup> & y<sup>th</sup>.

Edw. of Gray

To his Honourable friend

My Lord Secretary to his  
Honour





LETTERS AND PAPERS

RELATING TO

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY,

AFTERWARDS

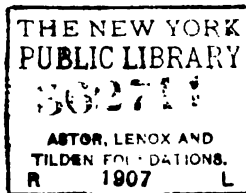
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100 THE VEN. ARCHDEACON WRANGHAM.



## CONTENTS.

	Page.
William Davison to Sir Francis Walsingham, August 24, 1584, - - .	1
• Mary Queen of Scots to the Master of Gray, - - - -	8
Commission by King James VI. to the Master of Gray, as Ambassador to England,	9
King James VI. to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - - -	10
Earl of Arran's Instructions to the Master of Gray, - - - -	11
Lord Hunsdon to Lord Burghley, - - - - -	12
Lord Burghley to Lord Hunsdon, - - - - -	18
The Master of Gray's Negotiation, Nov. 1584, - - - -	19
The Manner of proceeding with the Master of Gray and Nau, - -	23
The Lords of the Council's Answer to certain Notes propounded by the Master of Gray, Ambassador, - - - - -	24
Answers to certain Propositions and Requests of the Master of Gray, -	27
Notes regarding the Master of Gray's practices against Queen Elizabeth, -	29
The Master of Gray to Mary Queen of Scots, - - - - -	30
• Mary Queen of Scots to the Master of Gray, - - - - -	37
Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Arran, - - - - -	39
• Mary Queen of Scots to King James VI., - - - - -	40
The Master of Gray to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - - -	41
The same to Queen Elizabeth, April 29, 1585, - - - - -	43
The same to Mr Archibald Douglas, - - - - -	45
Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, to the Master of Gray, - - - -	46
The Speeches between the Earl of Bothwell and Sir William Stewart, -	47
Letter of the Earl of Bothwell to King James VI., - - - - -	49
Heads of the Instructions given to Captain Bruce for the Master of Gray by Archi- bald Douglas, - - - - -	50
Mr Archibald Douglas to the Master of Gray, - - - - -	ib.

	Page.
The Master of Gray to the Earl of Leicester, - - - -	54
Sir Francis Walsingham to the Master of Gray, - - - -	55
Monsieur Fontenay to Mary Queen of Scots, - - - -	56
The Relation of the Master of Gray concerning the Surprise of the King at Stirling,	58
The Master of Gray to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - -	61
Thomas Randolphe to the Earl of Leicester, - - - -	63
The Master of Gray to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - -	64
Thomas Randolphe to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - -	66
The Master of Gray to Lord Burghley, - - - -	70
The Master of Gray's Speech to Thomas Mills, - - - -	71
Sir Francis Walsingham to the Master of Gray, April 1586, - - - -	74
Mr Archibald Douglas to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - -	75
The Master of Gray to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - -	77
Sir Philip Sidney to the Master of Gray, - - - -	78
Sir Francis Walsingham to the Master of Gray, - - - -	79
Sir Francis Walsingham to Mr Randolphe, - - - -	81
Sir Francis Walsingham to the Master of Gray, - - - -	83
Memorial concerning a Treaty with Scotland, - - - -	84
Sir Francis Walsingham to Thomas Randolphe, - - - -	86
Mr Archibald Douglas to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - -	87
The Master of Gray to Thomas Randolphe, - - - -	88
Mr Archibald Douglas to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - -	ib.
The same to the same, - - - -	98
The same to the same, - - - -	99
The Master of Gray to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - -	100
Sir Francis Walsingham to Mr Randolphe, - - - -	102
Mr Archibald Douglas to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - -	103
The Master of Gray to Mr Archibald Douglas, - - - -	106
The Master of Gray to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - -	107
Sir Francis Walsingham to the Master of Gray, - - - -	108
The same to the same, - - - -	110
The Master of Gray to Mr Archibald Douglas, - - - -	111
Sir Henry Woddrington to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - -	112

# CONTENTS.

vii

	Page.
Letter to Mr Secretary Walsingham, - - - - -	112
The Master of Gray to Mr Archibald Douglas, - - - - -	114
The same to the same, - - - - -	116
The Master of Gray to Thomas Tyrie, - - - - -	119
Instructions by King James VI. to the Master of Gray and Sir Robert Melvill, Am- bassadors to England, - - - - -	120
The Master of Gray to Mr Archibald Douglas, - - - - -	125
A Memorial for his Majesty by the Master of Gray, - - - - -	126
The Master of Gray to Mr Secretary Maitland, - - - - -	131
To the King's Majesty from Sir Robert Melvill, - - - - -	132
To the King's Majesty from the Master of Gray and Sir Robert Melvill, - - - - -	134
Notes of a Letter to the Master of Gray, - - - - -	135
Letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - - -	138
Letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - - -	140
Robert Carvyle to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - - -	142
Letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, April 1587, - - - - -	144
Sir Henry Weddrington to Sir Francis Walsingham, - - - - -	147
Indictment against the Master of Gray, - - - - -	149
James Gray to the Master of Gray, 1589, - - - - -	151
The same to the same, - - - - -	152
Thomas Fowler to Lord Burghley, - - - - -	154
The Master of Gray to Lord Burghley, - - - - -	156
The same to the same, - - - - -	160
Thomas Fowler to Lord Burghley, - - - - -	161
William Asheby to Lord Burghley, - - - - -	164
The Master of Gray to Lord Burghley, - - - - -	165
Thomas Fowler to Lord Burghley, - - - - -	168
A Short Discourse, wherein is set down the very truth of the King of Spain his design against this whole Isle, by the Master of Gray, 1589, - - - - -	169
King James VI. to the Master of Gray, April 1594, - - - - -	183
The Master of Gray to Mr John Lindsay of Balcarras, Sept. 1596, - - - - -	ib.
Sir Robert Cecyll to the Master of Gray, 1600, - - - - -	185
The Master of Gray to Cardinal Borghese, - - - - -	187

Sir Robert Cecyll to the Master of Gray, 1601,	-	-	-	-	-	Page. 189
Sir Robert Cecyll to the Master of Gray,	-	-	-	-	-	190
The same to the same,	-	-	-	-	-	192
Earl of Salisbury to Patrick Lord Gray, 1608,	-	-	-	-	-	195
The same to the same,	-	-	-	-	-	197
Lord Gray to the Earl of Salisbury,	-	-	-	-	-	201
Earl of Salisbury to Patrick Lord Gray,	-	-	-	-	-	204

## APPENDIX.

Licence, John Duke of Albany to Patrick fourth Lord Gray, 1515,	-	-	iii
King James V. to Patrick Gray of Buttergask, 1542,	-	-	iv
James, Earl of Arran, Regent, to Patrick fifth Lord Gray, 1543,	-	-	v
Licence by James, Earl of Arran, to Patrick fifth Lord Gray, 1548,	-	-	vi
Mary of Guise, Regent, to Patrick fifth Lord Gray,	-	-	vii
✓ Mary Queen of Scots to Patrick fifth Lord Gray, 1560,	-	-	viii
The same to the same, 1565,	-	-	ix
The same to the same, 1566,	-	-	x
Earl of Mortoun and other Lords to Patrick fifth Lord Gray, 1569,	-	-	xi
Mathew, Earl of Lennox, Regent, to Patrick Master of Gray, afterwards sixth Lord Gray, 1571,	-	-	xii
Discharge by King James VI. to the Master of Gray, 1586,	-	-	xiii
Queen Anna to Mary Stewart, Mistress of Gray, 1597,	-	-	xiv
Letter from Patrick sixth Lord Gray, 1600,	-	-	xv
Summons to Patrick sixth Lord Gray to attend Parliament, 1605,	-	-	xvi
Warrant in favour of the Master of Gray, 1606,	-	-	xvii
Notices of the Family of Gray, extracted from the Accounts of the Lords High Treasurers of Scotland, from the year 1529 to the year 1602,	-	-	xviii

LETTERS AND PAPERS  
RELATING TO  
PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.

WILLIAM DAVISON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, the next day after my last dispatch, which was Wednesday, his Maiefty came to this towne, and hath lodged since in the provostis house, by cause he ment not to tarry longer then this day. On Thursday the Lordis of the Articles began to fitt, keeping the forme of ther last parliament, in fwearing them at ther duty, not to reveale any thing till the Actis, which were before penned and resolued on by the direction of and counsaill of Arane and his Lady, who beare the fway in all their proceedingis, should be publiquely read in parliament; wheare no one Act was reafoned or voted, but concluded and passed *pleno iure*, to the generall offence and myslyk of all men: Of which Acts, with the names of such as are presently forfaultid, your honour shall herewith receaue the foun. The old Countesse of Marr,<sup>2</sup> and the Lady Hume,<sup>3</sup> the latter at the sute of the Master of Gray, are contynewed to the next Seffion, which is appointed the xxij<sup>th</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 84, fol. 97. Davison was, at this time, English envoy at the Scotch court.

<sup>2</sup> Anabella Murray, wife of John, fifth Earl of Marr. She had the charge of King James when an infant, which may, perhaps, account for the leniency shown to her on this occasion.

<sup>3</sup> Agnes Gray, daughter of Patrick, fifth Lord Gray, and the aunt of the Master of Gray.

of September; but the rest of the poore ladies presently forfaited without respect or favour. The poore Countesse of Gowrye,<sup>1</sup> who, sence her husbandis death, is wasted with greif and affliction, mett the King in a lytter, beyond the water, in his coming hither warde, and falling downe before him, to moue his pity and compaffion towardis herself and her poore innocent children, hardly obteyned the heareing of the King, who departed and gave her no answer; and with what inhumanity she hathe bene vfed since her coming to this towne, by such as haue bene instrumentis of all her woe and callamyty, I tak shame to wryte. The same day she first compeerid, she movid the most part of her judges to teares; but finding no grace, the next day, being the last of the parliament, she returned to the place, purposing to tarry his Maiesties coming, but commaundement being sent to the Constable in his highnes name, for her removing out of the howse, the poore lady, feing no other remedy, was compelled to obey it, and being ledd fourth into the open streat, stayed there his highnes passing by, which was on foot in respect of the nerenes of his lodging, where falling on her knees and beseeching his Maiesties compaffion, Arane, going betwixt her and the King, led him hastily by her, and she reaching at his cloake to stay his Maiestie, Arane, putting her from him, did not only ouerthrow her, which was easy to do, in respect of the poore ladies weakenes, but marched ouer her, who, partly with extreme greif, and partly with weakenes, fowned presently in the open streat, and was fayn to be conveyed into one of the next howses, where with much adoe they recouered life of her; which inhumanity even their most affectionat frendis do vtterly condempne and crye shame of.

Amongst vthers appointed to be forfaited in this parliament, was the lard of Gartheland<sup>2</sup> in Galloway, for that his seruant lent, in his absence, a horse or two to therle of Marr, being in his journey out of Ireland towardis Sterling; but having paid to the Erle 1000<sup>lb</sup> Scottissh for his composicion, and given caution for 3000<sup>lb</sup> more, which is to be answered to the Master of Marr, bestowid vppon him by the King, for his relief, he hath obteyned his pardon, though with much difficulty, bycause that booth

<sup>1</sup> Dorothea, second daughter of Henry Stewart, first Lord Methven.

<sup>2</sup> Uthred Macdowall of Garthland, elder.

fell not into the hands of my Lady<sup>1</sup> my commere,<sup>2</sup> who made her full accompt thereof. One Hamilton, gudman of the Haggs, being likewise fumonid, and to be forfaltid at this tyme, for a cause of lyk importaunce, hath made his compoficion with her for 3000<sup>lb</sup> Scottifh, and procurid his exemptcion out of the fentence. And the reft, that are prefently contynewid to the next parliament, purpofely fpared, afwell in hope of lyk compoficion, be they neuer fo innocent, as for that they had no fufficient prooffe againft them at this tyme. She hath alfo, at this feffion, for the foume of 8000 merks Scottifh, procurid the reftoreing of the old Byfhopp of Dunkeld,<sup>3</sup> an excomunycat and profefhed papift, and removid the other, with the fpeciall interest of my Lord of Argyle, who had from him the moft part of the lyvingis of that byfhoprick in leafe. Of all which they take no fhame to profefe an open portfalue, no one day paffing ouer their heads, without feecking either land or money from fome one or other, to take them vnder their protection, which for gayne they spare not, be the cause right or wrong. The reft of thofe that be either contynued or fumoned againft the next feffion, to be holden in September, do look for no juftice, but fuch as fhallbe meafured out by the ell of my Lady Aranes confcience and good nature, who is lyke then to cary no lefe ftroke then at this tyme, bycaufe the King, who myndeth not to be prefent at it, hath appointed 4 of ech eftate to hold that feffion, and to proceed in the forfaicture, of which my Lord her hufband, being ordinarily ftyled Chauncellour, is to prefide alone, fo as all men expect none other but juft and equall proceeding at the handis of fo equall and competent judgis.

As for other things, namely, touching the fucceffe of the late meeting on the Borders, I am acquainted with litle on the one fyde or other generally, albeyt not vtterly ignorant what paffeth. This I am well affured of by perfons of good credit, that Arane, before his going to the Borders, (agreably to that he had vtterd diuers tymes before to fome of his famyliars),

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of John, fourth Earl of Athol,—a woman whose profligacy was notorious.

<sup>2</sup> *Commere*, gossip, familiar acquaintance. Sir James Melville mentions that Davison became fo familiar with Arran as to be ‘maid his gossup.’—*Memoirs*, p. 328.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Crichton, who was promoted to the fee in 1550, but deposed after the Reformation. By the influence of Arran and the Earl of Argyle he was again restored, as above stated, upon the surrender of the bishoprick by James Paton, then bishop.

fent this meſſag to the King by a gentleman of credit, that he ſhould tak no thought of any thing but his paſtyme and pleaſur, and for this meeting let him alone, who, as he ſaid, out of two pointis had gatherid a third, which he aſſured him ſelf ſhould proue the turne to outſhoote vs in our owne bowe. But of the particuler of thingis, ther is not anie in dowl that pretend to know any thing, but by diſcourſe and couuerture beſidis, the Maſter of Gray, (who being lately enterid into a ſtrayt league with Arane, ſince the French credens came home, wherein he had ſome intereſt, as a man ſpecially truſtid), is named to be ambaffadour towardis her Maieſtie, and, as I heare, to be very ſhortly diſpatchid, albeyt I be not yet made acquainted with all. This gentleman, who hath bene allwaies notid in religion an obſtinat papiſt, in affection French, in devocion a profeſſed ſervant of the Scottiſh Queens; one that hath confeſſed him ſelf to be inwardly acquainted with the whole courſe and proceedings and intentis of her ſelf, and her frendis abroad, and to have bene very liberally gratified in Fraunce, both by the Duke of Guiſe, and at his laſt coming home, by the Spaniſh Ambaffadour in Fraunce, from whom, as his ſelf confeſſeth, he hadd a very fayer cupboard of plate in guiſte, to the value of 5 or 6000 roleues; and one that ſince his coming, hath bene as a ſteward in the diſpenſing of ſome part of that money the Queen ſent home, (which ſome of the Kingis owne counſell, and men moſt privy to her doings, haue confeſſed to my ſelf to have bene litle leſs then 20,000<sup>lb</sup>, and that Ballandyn, of whom I have hertofore aduertified, was the meſſenger), of which he beſtowed, by her direction, lately the ſoume of 300.<sup>lb</sup> on Fuliambe<sup>1</sup> and his companyon. This gentleman, I ſay, beinge ſo quallified, affectid, and recomended to this ſervice by Arane his ſpeciall labour and procurement, I leave it to her Maieſtie and your honours theare to conſider what ground it hath, and wherto it tendeth, my ſelf fynding nothing but bare teſtimonyes of men accuſtomyd to deceyt, (againſt many contrary effectis), that may move me to put her Maieſty in hope of any ſound or direct dealing from hear, which, for myne own part, I dare not aſſure, what ſoeuer be pretended.<sup>2</sup> And yet am I borne in hand, that both the

<sup>1</sup> Godfrey Fuljambe and his brother were ſecret partizans and correſpondents of Queen Mary.

<sup>2</sup> Davison, in a letter of the 6th September 1584, gives Sir Chriſtopher Hatton almoſt a ſimilar account of the Maſter of Gray. "He [the King] is on Thursday laſt departed



King, for his own part, standeth well affected to cherish and preferue her Maiesties favour and frendshipp, and that Arane, to gayne his self credit with her Maiefty, whose only favour of a forepromes may avayle him most, hath procured this Ambassadour, and chossen out this perfon best acquainted with the plottis and courses of her enemyes, to discouuer and lay them open wholly to her Maiefty with the Kings good lyking and consent, as they that pretend nothing more then direct and plaine proceedings, of which I leave the tryall to her Maieftys iudgement and experience.

The King departed this morning towardis Faulkland, but the lordis of his Counsell remayne here for a tyme, to take order in such things as could not be dispatched before his departure, and are dryven to go vpp to the Castell and sitt there in Counsell, to th'end that nothing be done without the privyete of my Lady, my cummere. I was on Sonday invited to dyne theare, wheare I held some purpose with his Maiefty of many thingis, and obseruid the strangenes of their behaviour towards the poore young prince, who is so distractid and weryid with their endles importunityes, as it pitied me to see yt, and, if I be not abusid, groweth full of their fashions

from hence to Faulkland, where they are in deliberacion to dispatche the Master of Graye, appoynted by Arraynes procurement to be ambassadour to her Maiefty; but his departure is yet uncerten. This gentleman, besides that he is a knowen papist, a favorer of the French course, a seruant and pencioner of the Queens, and a suspected pensioner of the Popes, hath himselfe confessed to have had at his cominge out of Fraunce, a cupboard of plate, geaven him by the Spanishe ambassadour resident ther, to the valewe of 5 or 6000 crownes, besides other gyfts frau the Duke of Guise, and other the Queenes frinds; and since his cominge home, hath bine Treasurer of such monye as was sent home by Ballandine, as cominge from the Queen, whereof I knowe where he weighed at one tyme 10,000<sup>l</sup>, reserved to the Kings owne use, besides his owne parte, and that was els disposed amongst other of the courtiers, to releve ther hungry appetits; out of which store he hath of late, by his owne confession, delivered at the Queens comaundement 300<sup>l</sup> to Fuljambe and his companyon, who, fleeinge this last year owt of England, have bine since enterteigned with Huntly in the North, and of late at his fathers in Fife, as was likewise Nugent the Irish rebell and his companyon. So, as by the qualitie of the person, with other circumstaunces, your honour may ghesse what fruite is to be gathered of his ambassage, and what respect they have here for religion that employe men so qualified. He maketh great preparacion, and taketh with him divers yonge gentlemen as wayne as himselfe. But hitherto, I am not once maide acquainted by him selfe, eyther with diett or his charge, my Lord of Hunsden, and they thinckinge it best to have it passe throughe no more hands than ther owne, to whome I freely yeld all the honour and reputacion that may grow thereof, which, I feare, will not be much when ther accompt is maide; but th'ende will crowne the worke."—  
HARL. MSS. No. 291, fo. 143.

and behaviours which he will sometymes discourfe of in broad language, as he that is not ignorant how they vse him. She hath, since the breaking vpp of the chifts of the jewellis, made newe keyes without the Kings privité or comaundement, the old remayning yet with Sir R. Melvill, who is mynded to refygne them vpp to his Maiefty, so sone as he shall come to the Court, bycause he will no longer stand charged with that which she hath the dispoficion of, [whom] every man suspectith to skillfull in subtraction. It is certainly reported, that she hath also, in surveighing the wardrobe, tryid what garmentis, &c that were the Queens, may best fitt her, and chose out, at her own discretion, what she lyketh; which strange fashon of hers and her husbands will, in the iudgement of the wyfe in Court, hasten their change of fortune, howfoeuer they fede ther felues now with an opinion of their long standing. I fynd by my *bmio eg.*<sup>1</sup> 100, that 100 is not sleeping or careless, though he be farr of, and is perfuaded the tyme will help all this. I haue enterteigned *eru*<sup>2</sup> with very many good complimentis and assurance of the good meaning, favour, and affection of 10, but empty woords I fynd move litle. I do now live here only as a cipher, and may very well be spared if it please her Maiefty, besidis that your honour knoweth what cause I haue to desier home, to take some order in your owne estate, and seing it shalbe the vnburdening her Maiefty of a nedeles charge, and an ease to my self. I beseech your honour give me leave to importune you still as a meane to her Maiefty for my revocation, which I desire not, as he that weryeth to do her Maiefty seruice, but bycause I see not what my presence and stay here can avayle, my Lord of Hunsdon his only credit sufficing with such as now guyde the streame. Beseeching therefore your honours favour, and expecting your good aunfwer, I do for this tyme recomend your honour to the providence of the Almighty.

Your honours most humbly at comaunding,

W. DAIVSON.

Edinburgh the xxiiij of August 1584.

POSTSCRIPT. The Abbot of Newbottill<sup>3</sup> dyed the last week, and was buried yestherday. The minifter, that preached at his buryall, and en-

<sup>1</sup> Cipher.    <sup>2</sup> Cipher.    <sup>3</sup> Mark Kerr, second son of Sir Andrew Kerr of Cessford.

veighed against the corruption and confusion eating into this Church by the ambition and wickednes of their Bishoppes, was the same day sent for and comytted. The same day, which was Sondag, the Byshopps of St Andrewes and Abirdene preached before the King in the great church of this towne, labouring more to establisht heir owne estate then to edify the hearers, who generally skorned and condempned them, and, without the Kings prefence, had otherwyse testified their myslyking, but all this notwithstanding, they push forward their owne pompe, though with the common hurt of the whole state of this Church, wherof they appeare to have very litle fence. The Provost of Glenliwde<sup>1</sup> is brought againe to this towne, and comytted to the Castle; their foreign conspiracy is at an end, nowe my Lord of Arane hath hitt the mark he aymid at. The King him self, as is assured me by some of his owne Counsell, hath an vtter myslyk of the chang, and hath blaimed the Secretary and Sir R. Melvin for dealing further in the matter then they had warrant from himself. But some think the M<sup>r</sup> yielding in this and others extraordinary dealing against him without the Kings warraunt, will turne to Aranes disadvantage with the tyme, howsoever he do presently beare yt owt. I find the myslyk generall of his insolent and imperious proceeding, and even those he vseth and trusteth most will prove vnto him rotten reedis with the tyme, if I am not deceaved, som of them having to myself spoken playne languag tending that way, and as they assure me the King him self [is] growing weary of the insolence and rapyne both of him and his wife; wherein the tyme only must bring the remedy. The witches haue foretold that he shalle dye a violent death, and his wife, as I am credibly aduertised, hath spoken asmuch to her famyliar frends. And albeyt thes thingis move others little, yet doth it appeare to setle a contynuall feare in him, who goeth for the most part armid; and being late with the King one evening, and returning to the Castle with his wife, caused the torches to be putt out, and cast an other cloke vppon him self, and left his wife, who kept her way through the high streat, and with one onely seruant passed an other by way secretly, and met her at the Castle gate, testifieing thereby the contynuall fear he liveth in.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Robert Douglas, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Lincluden in Galloway.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>1. *Octobre 1584.*

J'AY escript mon opinion à mon fils touchant l'ouverture que vous m'avez fait en son nom pour vostre voyage vers la Royne d'Angleterre. Si luy mande pleinement que Je ne puis aucunement approuver ceste artificielle demonstration d'un malcontentement et nouvelle division entre luy et moy, comme preiudiciable a tous deux pour les raisons qui l'ensuyuent. Afauoir, que la Royne d'Angleterre ou n'adiouffera point de foy, et le prendra en dissimulation a ieu desseigné expres entre mon fils et moy, ce que suffira pour empescher vostre voyage vers moy, au lieu de la faciliter: ou si elle croist que la diuision estre vraye, c'est donner a nos ennemys pres d'elle le seul aduantage qu'ils desirent pour la destourner de proceder plus auant en aucun traicté avec nous. Car, sans aucune doute, ils luy ont iusques icy faict croire et fondre sa feureté et de son estat, en nostre diuision. &c.

Croyez pour certain qu'il n'y a que la seule crainte d'un extreme qui puisse amener la Royne d'Angleterre a faire pour nous, et que rien rendra mon fils si contemptible vers elle, qui si par la pasture des belles promesses elle le peult une fois destituer et priuer de l'appuy et support de moy et mes amys, et parens les princes estrangers; &c. pourtant si mon filz est persuadé, soit par belles promesses d'Angleterre ou d'ailleurs qu'en se monstrant separé de moy, il obtiendra d'elle a part des meilleures conditions; qu'il l'asseure du contraire, estant la seule chose a quoy elle tend, de luy donner, comme l'on doit, la croche en iambe, et qu'elle ne se fouciera par apres de parfourmer et observer chose quelconque qu'elle aura promise. &c.

*Octobre 1584.*

Je ne me doute point qu'elle ne paste mon fils, comme elle faict moy mesmes de l'esperance de la succeffion de ceste couronne, mais ce n'est qu'artifice pour seulement nous tenir en laisse apres elle, ayant des le

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 94, fol. 108: where this article is marked as "An abstract out of certayne Letters of the Queene of Scottes to the Mr of Gray," with the title 'Recueils des Lettres de la Royne d'Escosse au Mr de Gray.'

commencement de son regne tenu tousiours ce maxime principale de fa feureté ou elle est plus resolu que iamais, de ne declarer, tant qu'elle viura, aucun heritier, ny souffrir aucune de ses subiectz destourner leurs yeulx d'elle: &c.

COMMISSION BY KING JAMES VI. TO THE MASTER OF GRAY,  
AS AMBASSADOR TO ENGLAND.<sup>1</sup>

JAMES, by the grace of God, King of Scottes, To all and fyndrie, whome yt efferis, whose knowledge theis our letteris shall to come, GREETINGE; Forasmuche as, we haue considerid of the beste and most aparent meanes to settel our estate in quietnes and suretie, and our Realme in a perfett tranquillitie and repose, and findinge the same cheeflie to consist in keeping stedfaste and inviolable the happie peace, and long contynewd amitye betwixt vs and our deereft sifter and cousin, the Queene of Englande, being the Princes in the worlde neereft alwaies, and mozte respectable to ws, and enterteyning of the same on our behaulfe, by good intelligens and mutuall correspondancis, in all good offices tendinge to the observacion and increase of the same, Will, therefore, having good prooffe and experience of the wisdome, willingenes, circumspection and sufficiency alwaies, of our trustie and wellbelovide cousin, PATRICK MASTER OF GRAYE, speciall gentileman of our Privie chamber, and of his entire and dutifull affection borne to our estate and servis, have, in that respect, made, nominate, constitute and ordeyned, and by theis our letteris, nominates, makes, constitutis and ordeynes him our Ambaffador, orratour, commissiонер, deputie, and speciall messanger, to the effect vnder written, givinge, graunting, and committing to him our full power, speciall comaunde, expresse bydding, and chardg, for vs and in our name and behaulfe to conveane with our deereft sifter and cousin, the Queene of Englande, her counsell, and such as she shall appointe and authorise to

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 102, fol. 119.

that effect, at what fouever tymes and places; and to treate, conferr, deliberate and conclude in all matters and cawfes betwixt vs and our faide deereft fister, our domynions and fubiects, tending to the confirmacion and enterteynment of the faide amitye, and continueance of peace and quietnes betwixt vs: And thervpon to contracte, indent, promife, fubfcribe and enterchange feales, and generally all and fundrye other thingis to do, exercife and vse, that to th'execution of the premiffes neceffarey requirid, although the fame requierid more speciall comiffion nor is here in expreffid, firm and ftable houlding, and for to houlde all and what fouever thing our faid Ambaffador, deputie, and meffenger, in our name in the premiffes, lawfully leadis to be down. Thies vnder our greate feale, and fubfcribed with our hande, at our Pallace of Hollyrood hoofe þe xiiijth daie of Octobir, 1584, and of our raigne the xvijth yere.

KING JAMES VI. TO SIR FRANCIS WALSLINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

TRUSTY AND WELLBELOVED, We greete you well: having directed our trusty and wellbeloved coufen, Patrick Maifter of Gray, gentelman of our Privy chamber, to our deereft fester, the Queene your foueraigne, to open and communicate vnto her fuch thinges on our behalf, as being well accepted of, according to our expectacion, may prooue greatly to the weale of both our Crowns and Countreyes, wee will require you very earnestly, that, according to the place of credite and counsell which you occupy, you willbe the meane to further him to speedy prefence, and a convenient difpatch and anfwere of his errand; trusting him in that which he fhall deliver vnto you on our behalf: Thus we committ you to God. From our Pallace of Halirud houfe.

Your loving ffriend,

JAMES R.

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. VIII. fol. 118.

EARL OF ARRANS INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

No feale to be enterchanged, nor handwritt by you, but according to the old band, chiefly that either others rebells be either delivered or banished, and the receators common enemies to both realmes.

In all other purposes of weight desire to be further resolved of his Maiefty; sometime alleading such headis not to be in your instruccions anywise; some tyme, that ye are specially in that inhibited, whereuppon your blanckes suffice, also the blanckes brought with you to make your revocation, as the necessity shall be offered.

One parte of your instruccions you must haue to many patent, namely, that yf the league be kept to his Maiestie touching his rebells, that you lett the Queene in all thinges knowe her danger, which the Kings Maiefty esteemeth his owne; and if need require, offer in his Maiestys name forces, both vpon foote and horshack, to defend her, and pursue all that would disturbe her estate or realme: the condicions as is conteyned in the league, I thinck to our owne Border, and so many dayes vpon our chardges; what further vpon the Queenes.

Yf a league offensive and defensive shalbe to you propounded, cast it not of, but demaund the condicions, and poste them to his Maiefty, whereof you shalbe shortly resolved; for that, theis ten yeares, they have ever bene seeking, and when noe other thing will serve, that will protract tyme, and be in his Maiesties opinion to graunt or denie.

Yf it shalbe condiscended the Rebells be bannished, spare not to condiscend to this, that all subiects of England shall haue accessse to all partes of Scotland with out passport or licence, and all Scotcs in England in like manner. This will pleasure England greatly, and yet I see a comodity divers wayes to our Maister.

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VII. art. 191, fol. 224. This article is marked in the printed Catalogue of the Cotton. MSS. under the date August 1585, but it evidently refers to the embassy of the Master of Gray in 1584.

LORD HUNSDON TO LORD BURGHELY.<sup>1</sup>

MY VERY GOODE LORDE, thys longe lookyd for man, the Master of Gray, ys come att laste, for whose stay ther hath wantyd no practyfys, whyther yn Skotlande nor owte of Inghlande; for in Skotlande, the Collonell Stewarde, the factyon of France and Spayne, and the papyftis, haue dune theyr beste; all the forine factyons in Inghlande hathe nott flepte. And he hathe nott only hade worde sent hym, how gretly he ys alreddy condemd at the courte, bothe with hyr Maiefty and vthers about hyr, and that he shall fynde so slender entertaynment there, as he wyll fume wyshe hymselfe away. And to feare hym the more, yt hathe byn sayd too hym, that yn hys passyng threwe thys cuntrey, his cairyagis shall be taken, with all hys wryttings, and hymselfe nott fre from perryll, whyche, God wyllunge, I wyll take order wellynowhe for hys safty too Newcastle. And no dowght but hys cumyng offendis many yn Inghlande, for they know he cane towche fume of them deply. He came hyther apon Satterday yn the afternune, hauyng exprese commandment too deale with me, and too make me acquayntyd with hys negocyacion shurely, as he hathe dune, and hathe promeste me muche, but I wyll neyther trust hym too farr, nor aduyse hyr Maiefty too truste hym, farther then she shall fynde cawse at hys hande, bycawse he ys so gretly condemde alreddy amonge vs, as whatfoeuer he saythe, yea the King hymselfe, or therle of Arren, muste nott be beleuyd. Thys mane, for beyng grete with the Skotish Queen, and for beyng a papyfte, I know he cane say mutche of the Skotish Queen, few men more; but for hys papystry, I wolde all owars wer fuche, for yesterday, beyng Sunday, he went to the chyrche with me, hauyng feruys booke of myne, fyttyng with me yn my peu, he sayde all the feruys, and, bothe befor the fermone and after, he fange the falmes with me, aswell as I cowld doo, wherby yt semes he had byn eufyd too them, or else he cowld not a dune yt so well and so reddyly now, lett hys relygyon be whatt ytt wyll.

<sup>1</sup> From the original, Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 105, fol. 122.



Hys comyffyon ys very large, the coppy wherof I sende your Lordship herewith. The princypall poyntis of hys Ambassage ar two: the fyrste, too desier at hyr Maiestys handis, ayther the delyuery, or the puttynge from hyr, hys rebbelis, (as he termes them), for the King cane neyther thynk hys realme fre from practyfys, nor hys parson fre from perryll, so longe as they be sufferd too remayne so neare hym. Vpone whyche poynte he and I wer yn grete argument, so farr as I towlde hym, that yf that wer th'effecte of hys negocyacyon, I wolde rather venter too stay hym heare, or too lett hym returne agayne, tyll I know hyr Maiestys farther pleasure, then to suffer hym to pase with matter that shoulde be rather offencyeue to hyr Maiesty, then that satyffactyon that hathe byn promest, and whyche hyr Maiesty lookes for at hys hande. In fyne, after longe debate, he grew more mylder, alledgyng that, yf hys Master shoulde dyscouer the practyfys of vther pryncys, now hys frendis, and therby lose them vtterly, and hyr Maiesty nott too shew hyrselfe so carefull of hym, as, at his seut and erneste requeste, too deny the puttynge away of hys Rebels, he shoulde stand yn very hard case too lose hys frendis who hathe made hyme many grete offers, and yett hys enmys kepte and mayntaynyd at hys nose, and therby iuste cawse for hymself, and all the worlde, to thynke that hyr Maiesty makes more accownte of the subiects then of the King. But, saythe he, yf yt may please hyr Maiesty to deale so favorably and louyngly with the King, as yf she fynd hyrselfe fully satyffyde yn suche thyngis as she wolde know of any practyse agenste hyr state, that then she wyll put hys ennymys from hyr; apone hyr assurance herof, ther ys no practys that hathe byn practysde agenst hyrself or hyr estate, eyther by France, Spayne, the Skotthe Queen, or the Pope, thys 5 yere, but she shall know ytt, and how too avoyde ytt, vtherwyse he wyll returne as he came; for he wyll nott lose hys Master many frendis of grete princys, and nott make hym seure of hyr Maiesty, for, saythe he, what loue and faythfull amyte cane he looke for at hyr Maiestys handis yf she refuse hym so reasonable a requeste, whyche shee ys bownde too doe by the treatye. Thys farr he hathe gone with me, so as nowe hyr Maiesty ys too confyder whyther the knowlege of the bottome of thes practyfys agenst hyr Maiesty and hyr estate, or the kepyng and mayntaynyng of thes men yn hyr

realme, whome he accountis for hys rebellis and mortall ennymys, wyll stande hyr yn moſte ſtede, and be moſte for hyr ſeurty; whyche I leaue to hyr Maieſtys graue conſyderacyon, and ther ys no dowght, but as thys mane cane dyſcouer all thes forren practyſys, ſo ys he acquayntyd with moſte of our practyſys at home, and the practyſars, whyche, in my fymple opynyon, wolde ſtande her Maieſty yn more ſtede, then thes mens be-nyge here þen yf they wer att home, but that I refer to wyſer men.

Thys, I know, the King hathe ſayde, that yf they wer farther of, and myght heare of thyr dewtyfull euſage towards hym, ther ys nothyng ſo farr paſte, but by theyre good deſertes myghte be callyd bak agayne, and ſume of them callyd home agayne. Dumfarmelyn,<sup>1</sup> who was banyſht, beyng very ſyke wher he was, hathe returnyd home for hys helthe withoute leaue, and yet the King nott offendyd with him, but yn hys coming nye too Edenburgh lay thre daye at hys howſe with hym.

Now, my Lord, towchyng the King and therle of Arren. As I haue wrytten hertoſore, no mane knowſe the ſecretis of mens hartis but God, but yf they be nott worſe then dyuelis, but that I may beleue open and ſolleme prowſe, erneste and lyberall proteſtacyons, hyr Maieſty may haue the King affuryd too hyr from all the worlde: therfor, yf he be worth the hauyng, let hyr take howlde of hym whylſte ſhe may, for yf ſhe lett hym flype now, ſeurlly he wyll neuer be hade agayne. And for therle of Arren, he muſte of neceſſyté rune thys cowrſe, for yn reſpecte of hys up-howldyng and contynewyng the King yn thys cowrſe, he ys gretely hatyd of the Kings mother, and all hyr factyon of France, and of all the papyſtes, and more hatyd ſynce he begane thys cowrſe then euer he was byfore, which I know too be moſte trew, which makes me thynk that he deales playnly.

Thus haue I troblyd your Lordſhip with a longe dyſcowrſe of ſuche matters as paſte betwene hym and me, ſo neare as I cane, but with many thyngs more to longe too wryght, and ſo I commit your Lordſhip to th'Almyghty. Your affuryd frende

H. HUNSDON.

At Barwyke the 19th of October 1584.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Pitcairn, Commendator of Dunfermline.

LORD HUNSDON TO LORD BURGHELEY.<sup>1</sup>

Nowe, my gode Lord, hauyng wrytten fomuche yn my vther letter, as I thinke your Lordship wyll acquaynte hyr Maiefty with all, hauynge also wryttyn sumthyng to hyr Maiefty, whyche, I praye your Lordship too delyuer vntoo hyr, I am too acquaynt your Lordshyp with fume vther matters to be eyfyd at your dyscretyn. Thys gentylmane ys exprestly comandyd yn all hys dooyngis too be reulyd by your Lordships aduyse and myne, and hauynge browghte fundry letters from the King, the coppys wherof he hathe shewde me, for that he ys to delyuer none but fuche as I appoynt hym. The King wyll by no meanes wryght nor deale with Mr. Secretary, for, saythe he, I knowe hym too be my grete ennymy, and hathe hys hande too show, which I thynke thys gentylmane hathe. My Lord of Leycester hathe thoughte grete vnkyndnes that he hathe nott byn imployde yn thes matters, as hys hande ys too be showde. So, as I haue wyllyd hym yn anywyse to delyuer all hys letters, and bycawse ther is more partycularytys yn your Lordships letter than yn any of the reste, and perhaps yf your Lordship delyuer ytt hyr byfor you reade ytt yourfelfe, she wyll kepe ytt, he shall delyuer your Lordship the copy therof.

As I haue wrytten yn my vther letter, he wyll craue too haue thes lordis, and fume vthers, too be delyueryde accordinge too the vertew of treuse and treaty, the copy of whyche artycle he bryngs with him, yett he wyll nott perfyfte therapon, so as they may be sent yntoo any vther cuntrey owte of the Realme; whyche may be grantyd hym for a tyme, for yf that be denyd vntoo hym, I cane assure your Lordshyp that he wyll vtter nothyng of those matters hyr Maiefty wolde know; wheryn yf he doo not satyffy hyr Maiefty to hyr contentment, she may reuoke them agayne at her pleasure, and I assure your Lordshyp yt ys neyther goode pollyfy, nor fytt they shold be sufferde to remayne with fuche troopes and yn fuche forte. Ther ys neare hande 100 of them yn Newcastle, and euery fayre nyght they walk yn the markett plafys, yea and apon the walles

<sup>1</sup> From the Original, Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 106, fol. 123.

with theyr pyftols at theyr gyrdelis at xi and xij a cloke, whyche a grete many of the beſte of the towne doothe gretely myſlike withall; and my Lord, thohe they be now heare for theyr fuccor, they may herafter be callyd home agayne, and then no dowght they will be, as theyr forfathers hath byn, ſo as ytt ys nott fytt ſo many of them ſhould be ſo priuy of the ſecretis of that towne, as they be, nott only of the towne, but of all the cuntrey, bothe by water and by lande, for they ryde and go wher they lyfte. They myght be at the leſte ynward, ſume at Yorke, ſume too London, and ſume to othyr placys, and I affure your Lordſhyp, ther ys fuche rydyng from Newcaſtell ynto Skotlande, and owt of Skotlande too them, as ys ſtrange. One the other fyde, ther ys faſte poſtyng from them to the courte and London, and from thens too theme, and tyll your Lordſhyp was comandyd too deale with me heryn, ther was nothyng wrott vp but they wer aduertifyd of ytt, whyche I knowe too be moſt trewe; and eſpecyall letters wrytten that they ſhowlde want nothyng, eſpecyally the Maſter of Glammes and Coluyn;<sup>1</sup> ſo as whatſoeuer they doo, none dare fynde any fawlte with them. The King ys gretely greuyd with hys mynyſtery for goynge awaye without any cauſe gyuen too them, wherby, ſaythe he, vther princys thynke hym yrrelygyus, and reddey to revolte from relygyon, wherappon they haue fowght too fende Jefuytis and bookes yntoo hys Realme, too poyſon yt as owars; and whyche ys worfe, yt ys gyuen owte that he ys nott the Kings ſune but Dauys,<sup>2</sup> whyche, ſaythe he, cumes from theſe men; whyche he towlde Cuddy Armerar,<sup>3</sup> wyth water yn hys eyſe, beyng but they two alone. And too dyſcredyt therle of Arren with the King, ſume that ar aboute hym hathe gyuen owte that he ys fedd frome me with angels by Armerar; wherapon the King dyd requyer Armerar, beyng but they two, as euer he wold doo anythyng for hym, that he wold tell hym one thyng, who anferd

<sup>1</sup> Mr John Colvill, formerly chantor of Glasgow. He had deſerted the clerical profeſſion on account of its poverty, and became a court intriguer, and a follower of the Earl of Gowrie, and of Francis Lord Bothwell.

<sup>2</sup> David Rizzio.

<sup>3</sup> Cuthbert Armourer, who appears to have been employed by Lord Hunsdon as a ſecret courier to James VI.

that yf yt towcht no way hyr Maiefty, nor too preiudyfe me hys mafty, he wold tell hym trewly. Wherapon the King askt hym that quefty; wherapon he anferde that, as he wolde be fauyd at the day of Iudgment, he neuer delyuerde halpeny or penny, more or les, or any thyng els, from me but letters. So as euen they aboute the King wolde fayne putt th'Erle owt of favor yf they cowlde by any practyse; for then had they no obftacle too make hym follow hys Mothers deuyfys, and too worke hym for France or Spayne, as I thynke Mr Dauyson hathe fufcycently aduertysyd, for fo he promefte me too doo. Fentry,<sup>1</sup> who is aboute the King, hathe byn very ernest with hym to fend to hyr Maiefty abowt Cryhton,<sup>2</sup> who ys yn the Towar, comendynge hym aboute the fkyfe; who anferd hym, that yf he hymfelfe hade any credyt too doo what he thought goode, but he wolde neuer fende aboute fuche a knaue, lett her Maiefty hang hym yf fhe wyll; and fewrly that Kryghton knowfe muche yf ytt may be gotten owt of hym. Therle of Arren fent me, by my mane, ferten artycles byfor the Master of Gray comes, of which I fende your Lordfhypp the copy, too be eufyd as your Lordfhypp fhall thynk fytt. Your Lordfhypp may make hyr Maiefty acquayntyd with fume of them that maye be wrytten owte, butt nott with the hole. The King ys very defyrus to haue me ther, as your Lordfhypp fhall fee by a poftte fkrypte, whyche he has wrytten yn the letter he fent me: 'My Lorde, for wayghtj cawfys, as thys bearar wyll acquainte you wyth, I muftte defier you, as ye tender my contentmente and weyle, and your honore, too ryde vpp immediatly after thys forfayd bearar too courte. I dowght nott but whane he fhawfe you the cawfe, ye wyll kepe yt too yourfelfe only.' Thys matter I dare nott comytt too wrytynge, yett I wyll fende hyr Maiefty my letter, and kepe the copy, fo as fhe fhall fe the poftte fkrypt, and feurly, my Lord, I thynke I fhowlde doo hyr Maiefty better feruice there then here, he beyng comandyd too eufe my aduyfe yn all hys negocyacyons, and I cowlde fume be ther yn poftte, with halfe a dofen with me. Thys bearar fhall tell of fume of thes matters at more lengthe, and what your Lordfhypp fhall comande and dyrecte hym too doo, he fhall, and fhall deale with

<sup>1</sup> David Graham of Fintry.

<sup>2</sup> William Crichton, a trafficking Jesuit, who was imprisoned for a plot against Queen Elizabeth.

nobody else. Thus, hauynge byn too tedyus too your Lordshyp, I comytt ye too th'Almyghty. At Berwyke the 19 of October, 1584.

Your Lordshyps assured too comande,

H. HUNSDON.

I haue thought goode to fende your Lordshyp the copy of my letter too therle of Arren 4 dayfe byfor the Master of Grayfe cumynge, when I thoughte he shoulde nott a cume, wheryn he thought fume vnkyndnes yn me, that wolde mystruste eyther the King or hym of playne dealynge.

LORD BURGHLEY TO LORD HUNSDON. OCTOBER 1584.<sup>1</sup>

MY VERY GOOD LORD. The Master of Gray hath, since his arivall, had two awdiencies, the one on Sounday laft, which was spent for the most parte in ceremonys; th'other yifterday, wherein he did but in effect vrge her Maiefty to restore unto the King his masters hands, the noblemen his subiects fled into this realme: Which motion hir Maiefty did seme vtterly to have no likeinge of, beinge perfwaded, in her conscience, that those gentlemen had neuer had any evill meennings towards the person of the Kinge, and that such attempts as haue fallen out in Scotland, haue only proceeded of the particular devifions and parties that haue taken foote amongft the noblemen of that realme, by reason of the minoritye of the Kinge, which he shuld rather seke to extinguish, and to vnite his whole nobilitye in a comon concurrencie to doe him seruice, then make himself a partye in any faction, which cannot breed but very dangerous effects. And for asmuch as he made daintye to discouer any thinge of the special purpose of his comeinge, which her Maiefty concewied was for the openinge of some matter concerning the perill of her estate, she did not forbear to let him perceauie pat she was offended withall.

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 129, fol 157.

THE MASTER OF GRAYES NEGOCIACION. NOVEMBER 1584.<sup>1</sup>

THE Notes presented by PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY, Ambassadour for the Kings Maiestye of Scotland in the realme of England, drawen furth of his generall instruccions, and geuen to Sir Francis Walsingham, principall Secretarye to her Maiesty, to be advised vpon by whome it shall please her Highnes to appoint.

FIRST. Theis frequent incurfions, depredacions, reafinge of fire, and inaccustomed ridinge of the Wardens of this realme, with souldiers and men vnder paye, in hostile manner, within the bounds of Scotlande, hath caused the inhabitantis of boeth the realmes vpon the frontyers rather to fear further hostilitye and open invasion, then maintenance of quietnes. If it shalbe her Maiestys pleasure to entertaine the happie peace, it appeares to be expidient, that this apprehencion should be removed furth of her subiectis minds with spede, before it should produce any further inconvenience.

SECONDLIE. The greate spoyles by sea, and rapt of goodis taken from the states of merchauntis, that continually cry to the King and counsell, that they may be helped to the restitution of their goodis, or otherwise licenced to take so much as they haue lost, which, if he should permitt, would, within short tyme, gener confusion and farther inconvenience. It hath moved the King, my Soueraigne, earnestly to desire that some spedie order may be giuen for avoydeinge of all farther inconvenience in tyme to come, and the goodis taken may be restored. Whatfoeuer good order shalbe geuen within her Maiestys dominyons, for remediege of the premises, the like shalbe performed in Scotland.

THIRDLIE. The receauinge of certayne declared rebellis, against the King my masters authoritye, fugitiues from the lawes of Scotland, within

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 130, fol. 157.

this realme, and entertheyneinge of them so nere vnto the frontyers, contrary to the treatye of peace, ioyned also to th'afforefaid diforders, has giuen occasion to the Kinge my master and his counsell to doubt if they shall loke for happie quietnes, or further hostilitie.

**FOURTHLIE.** Since my departure from Scotland, beinge here in dealeinge for peace, such attemptats hath bene comitted vpon the Borders by her Maieftys officers, that it hath so confirmed all men in evill opinions, and so wounded the minds of the best forte, that they cannot imagine what shalbe th'ende.

**ITEM.** My abode here hath bene longer then I looked for, and if any further tyme should be protracted for treating of euery particuler matter, it would be more then the Kinge my master, (who lately hath comaunded me to returne with speede), would well like of. Therefore, I have taken occasion and boldnes, for furtheringe of my returneinge, and that some good may be effected for intertheyneinge of good intelligence and quietnes betwixt the realmes, to make overture of theis equitable remedies followinge, which I craue may presently be performed, or otherwise, with reason and equitye, answered; promifeing also, that what foeuer good order shalbe devised and performed here, for th'accomplishment hereof, shall haue the like correspondence in Scotland; most humbly craueing, that this my too great boldnes, proceedinge from good meaninge, may be accepted in good parte.

#### THE REMEDIES.

**INPRIMIS.** For removeinge of all iealouffie or fuspicion of warre from the mindis of the people and inhabitants of both the realms, it appeareth to be expedient that a proclamacion should be made foe fully certifienge the subiectis, of the good intelligence betwixt the Princes, and of the muall good meaneinge for entertheyne of peace and quietnes, betwixt them and their realmes.

**SECONDLIE.** That comaundment may be giuen in boeth the realmes,



that the Wardens of all þe Marches may meete with convenient spede, euery one with the oppoffite warden, to giue and receaue iuftice to all complainers, in any matter that wardens hath bene in vfe to procede vpon in any tyme heretofore.

**THIRDLIE.** That the fubiectis may remayne in full hope to receaue an effectuall iuftice of all and fundry attemptis that hath bene comitted heretofore, it appeareth to be expedient, that one certaine tyme fhuld be appointed for meteinge of Commiffioners, hauing full power to minifter iuftice to all people and inhabitantis, vpon what foueuer iniuftice they fhall haue occafion to complain.

**FOURTHLIE.** As the fpecialtyes of this generall order appeareth to produce good effectis vpon the Bordours, fo appeareth it to be convenient that fome good order may be provided for the ftayeinge of piracy, which appeareth may be provided by ginging of ordours, that in all the portis and havens of both the realmes, no fhip fhallbe fuffered to departe, vnles they giue caution that all freindis and confederatis fhall remaine indamnified; and this caution, fo found, to be answerable to all intereffet, in kace of contrauencion. And in like manner, who foeuer fauours, fupportis, or affifteth to any pirate, which are amongs all nations reputed *hostes publici*, fhall incurre the like payne as the pirate fhould haue done, afwell in reftitucion of goodis as punifhment of bodie.

**ITEM.** For attemptis, raptis by fea, and fpoliacion comitted in tymes paff, endureing the minoritye of my Soueraigne, and vnto this tyme, which are cumand, by continuance of evill docinge and for long fufferaunce, without payment or punifhment, to large fumes of money, and the greater hath bene the occafion of harme, by reafon that the partye that fustayneth the lofe could not at all tymes come here for obteyneinge of iuftice, whereby the principall committers of the delict hath eyther efaped long tyme without creauinge, and fo thereby his fault put in obliuyon, or otherwife committed newe errorrs: for effectinge of the precedenis, or therefore punifh or otherwife fugitiue, whereby the perfons damnified may be in danger

to lose ther whole goodis of fortune, without some good equitable order may be provided, which appereth may be performed in this manner followeing. The spoliacion and wronges done by fea beinge greater, and the fumes obteyned by sentences and probacion be apparent also to growe to greater, I haue power sufficient to bringe the whole to a reasonable composicion of some speciall fume, which may be paid by some spedie order to be devised, and thereafter recovered by th' order of fines set downe by her Maiesty for that effect.

**FIFTHLIE,** Seinge that by no perswasion I can move her Maiesty, at this tyme, to make deliury of the fugitivis and rebellis aforesaid, according to the treaty of peace, it appeareth at the least, for some parte of satisfaccion of the King my masters suyte, to be expedient, that her Maiestye should remove them presently from the Bordours, not onely to avoyde trafiqueinge against his Maiestys estate and person, but also to seclude all apparent suspicion thereof; whereby the King my master may remaine in hope to move her Maiestye to confider better hereof at some tyme hereafter.

**LAST,** It appeareth that the King my master should receaue better contentment of her Maiestys proceedings, if he should be satisfied by solide reasons, vpon what grounds this invsitate forme of dooinge and hostile invacion, that hath bene comitted vpon the Borders, within Lidesdale, since my departure, doth procede. The reason thereof may be vnderstud, by this compleynt presented to the Counsell of Scotland by Martine Elliot,<sup>1</sup> whereof please receaue the copie.

**ITEM,** In like manner, I recommend to your Honours memory the notes giuen to Mr William Daidson, at the tyme of his beinge in Scotland, vpon the Lord Scroope, warden of the west Marches, for diuers offences alleged comitted by him, or at his comaund at least, vpon the inhabitantis of the west Marches of Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> Martin Elliot, a noted Border freebooter.

THE MANNER OF PROCEEDINGES WITH THE MASTER OF GRAY,  
AND NAU.<sup>1</sup>

THE heads of the motions to be made vnto her Maiefty.

THE MASTER OF GRAY.

What anfwere to his  
propositions. { 1. To stay attempts Bordours.  
2. The removeinge of the distressed Noblemen.  
3. Satisfaccion spoyled by fea.  
4. The late enterprife against Martine Elwood.

To stay the forces demaunded by Sarle Boye.

Mr Coluill to be sent to the Noblemen with reliefe.

MONSIEUR NAU.<sup>2</sup>

Some to be appointed to treat and to resolute vpon the Articles.

The Articles being agreed on, Nau to be returned, and vpon knowledge of the Queene by takeing of them, Commiissioners may be sent thither with authoritie to conclude.

Nau to be sent first into Scotelande to deale with the Kinge for his assent.

FRENCH AMBASSADOR. { 1. To ioyne in triple legation.  
2. To move that he might be sent into Scotlande.

1. Protestacion, sinceare dealeinge.
2. Make tryall of Naus voyage into Scotlande.
3. Keepe secret assurance giuen by them to the Queen.
4. Letters charge Master of Gray importunacy, Rebels before Counsell.
5. Charge Master of Gray before Counsell.
6. Letters Arrane.

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 133, fol. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Mons. Nau, French Secretary to Queen Mary, by whom he had, at this time, been sent to negotiate with Queen Elizabeth. See his propositions, and Elizabeth's answers, in the Appendix to Robertson's History of Scotland, No. 44.

THE LORDS OF THE COUNSELLS ANSWER TO CERTAINE NOTES PRO-  
FOUNDED BY THE MASTER OF GRAY, AMBASSADOUR.<sup>1</sup>

THE Queens Maieftye, beinge willing to yeld contentment vnto the King her good brother, and to avoyd the inconvenience that may fall out, by the daylie spoyles comitted vpon the Borders of eyther realme, hath comand-ed that present order fhallbe giuen vnto the Wardens, for the ftay of all attemptis and incurfions to be hereafter made vpon any of the fubiectis of the faid Kings inhabeitants vpon the Borders, in hope that the faid King, as his Ambaffadour hath promifed, will take the like order for the oppo-fite Borders of Scotland. And in cafe the Wardens of Scotland would, according to th'offers fyndry tymes made by her Maieftys Wardens, haue vndertaken to haue yelded fatiffaccion for fuch spoyles, as were often tymes orderly demanded according to the treaties, thofe late incurfions and spoyles, done in hoftile forte, had not bene committed. For the avoyd-einge whereof in tyme to come, her Maieftye hath willed, that present order fhallbe giuen that her Wardens fhall meete more frequently with the oppofite Wardens of that realme, then of late yeres they haue done, though indeede by the default of the Wardens of Scotland, with exprefe comaundment to yeld fatiffaccion for fuch spoyles and attemptis as boeth haue and fhallbe hereafter comitted, according to the treatyes. And doeth further alfo asent, that for fuch caufes of difficultyes as cannot conve-niently receaue ordinary redrefse by the wardens, the fame fhallbe referred over to be heard and determyned by efpeciall comiffioners, to be chofen by boeth their Maiefties.

And for the removeinge of the ieloufie that is, by the Ambaffadours reporte, conceaued by the fubiectis of boeth realmes through late incurfions and spoyles that haue bene on boeth fides, and no redrefse yelded by ordinary iuflice, that this hard and violent courfe may in th'ende breake out into fome publike and open hofilitye, her Maieftye will caufe it, out of hands, to be notified to her faid fubiectis dwellinge vpon the Borderis

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 131, fol. 158.

by proclamacion, how defireous she is that the good amitye betwene the Kinge and her shall continue. And leaſt there ſhould growe any interruption thereof, by the particuler revenges that are daylie taken, which cannot otherwyſe be avoyded, that boeth her Maieſtys and the Kings meaneinge is, that by more frequent meteing of the Wardens, then of late yeares there hath bene, there may redreſſe be made according to ordinary courſe of iuſtice agreeable with the treaties.

Touching the ſpoyles of late yeres, ſaid to be comitted by ſea, vpon the ſubiectis of the ſaid King by certaine Engliſh Pirates, her Maieſtye hath alwayes offred, as alſo performed, on her behalf, aſwell by proceedinge, accordinge to the ordinary courſe of iuſtice, againſt ſuch as haue comitted the ſaid ſpoyles, as alſo in cauſeing reſtitucion to be made of ſuch goodis, as haue bene duly proved to appertaine to any of the Kings ſubiectis, whereſoeuer they haue bene found, which is as much as a Prince is bound to performe by the lawe of nacions. And yet, to make her good will, boeth to the King and his ſubiectis more apparent, ſhe hath not onely extended an extraordinary fauour to the ſaid Kings ſubiectis, aboue all other Princes ſubiectis her neighbouris, by yeldinge vnto them towardis their ſatiſfaction the benefiet of all ſuch mulctis and fines as haue bene generally impoſed vpon ſuch as haue bene found to be eyther adyris or abettours of pirates, but hath alſo extended her liberalitie vnto diuers of the ſaid realme, that haue bene recomended vnto her by the ſaid Kinge, in reſpect of ſuch loſes, as they pretended to haue ſuſtained, without inſiſtinge vpon ſuch exact proufe of their loſes, as by ordinary courſe of iuſtice is requyred. And as to urging ſuch others, as haue made due profe thereof before the ordinarye iudge of this realme, for many cauſes of ſuch loſes as they haue ſuſtained, and haue not as yet receaued any ſatiſfaction, there ſhalbe order giuen, that ſuch perſons, as by the ſame proufis ſhalbe any way found culpable, ſhall yeld ſatiſfaction, ſo farre furth as may ſtand with the lawes of this realme. And although no further matter may be craved at her Maieſtys handis, by any order of iuſtice, then is conteyned in the ſaid anſwere, yet her Maieſty, vpon the ſpeciall conſideracion and care ſhe hath to gratifie the King, is pleaſed to continewe the employinge of the benefiet of the ſaid mulctis and fines

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imposed vpon delinquentis, that otherwise shuld growe to her owne coffers, vpon such of the said subiects as shalbe recomended vnto her, from tyme to tyme, by the said Ambassadour, in hope that he will procure the like iustice to be done to the subiectis of this realme, that haue bene lately spoyled by Scottish Pirates, as by a note thereof deliuered to him may appere. And as touchinge the requestis for order to be giuen in the portis for such stay of pirates, both her Maiefty hath already had, and also will hereafter haue, such care the order be kept, as is desired.

As touchinge the recepcion of such, as the said Ambassadour tearmeth declared rebellis and traytours, (a matter he hath aboue all other so vehemently profecuted), her Maiefty protesteth, that if she thought them guilty of any intent any wayes to attemptat any thinge against the Kings owne person, she would not onely have forborne to haue suffred them to come within any her dominyons, but would have proceded against them with all feueritye, as against such as shuld have fought to attempt any thinge against her owne person. But beinge perswaded, as she is in her owne conscience, vpon many circumstances, that the matters, wherewith the King chargeth them, hath proceded onely of particuler quarrellis and foodes betwene them and other subiectis in that realme; a thinge that hath fallen comonly out in the minoritye of younge kingis, when, for laik of absolute authoritye, subiectis doe enter into their particuler revenges, not submittinge themselues to ordinarye course of iustice; and yet notwithstanding, for the removeinge of the iealousies that the Kinge, her good brother, hath conceaued through their aboade so nere his frontiers, her Maiefty will giue present order for their remoue from thence to some such place as shall avoyde all suspicion, where they shalbe also advised to remaine in quiet forte, vntill such tyme as her Maiefty shall vnderstand the Kinges further meaneinge touchinge the said lordis, from the said Ambassadour.

Lastlie, touchinge Martin Elwoods late informacion, the act whereof he complayneth hath bene done by the two Wardens of the west and middle Marches, without eyther direction or priuetye of her Maiestys self, or of her Priuie Counsell. Yet the said Wardens, vpon some doubt conceaued that some informacion would be giuen against them, haue offred

to iustifie their doeings, as conftreyned thereto of neceffity, through diuers and fondry fpoyles comitted vpon her Maieftys fubiectis, within her feuerall wardenryes, by the faid Martin and his afociates, beinge a principall maintaynour of all difordered perfons, whereof no redrefe could be obteyned, though the fame was, by the faid Wardens, demaunded: notwithstandinge, fuch is her Maieftys care to fatisfie the King, as fhe is content that, at the next intended meteinge of the comiffioners, the faid attempt nowe compleyned of fhall be boethe examined and ordered by them.

ANSWERS TO CERTAINE PROPOSITIONS AND REQUESTS  
OF THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

IMPRIMIS, as concerninge the Articles, creaveinge the reftitucion of goodis taken by Englifh Piratis, which are founded vpon certayne decretis obteyned, and proban deduced, before competent iudges of this realme, it is moſte certaine that amongſt all nations pyratys are accompted *hoſtes publicj*, and therefore ſhould be puniſhed accordinglie, if they can be comprehended, and the goodis ſpoyled by them, whereſoeuer it can be founde, ſhuld be reſtored; which her Maieſtye hath not onely performed to the ſubiectis of the realme of Scotland, but alſo of her owne proper goodis, hath bountifully, with out any proban deducet, or any forme of proceeding by order of iuſtice vſed, cauſed ſatiffaccioun to be made to diuers inhabitantis of that realme, which is more then of iuſtice could haue bene craued. And yet notwithstanding, if any ſubiectis of that realme ſhall haue to complaine of any iniuſtice, vpon ſpeciall informacion giuen thereof, equitable order ſhall be giuen for their ſatiffaccion, accordinge to iuſtice.

As concerninge any decretis alledged obteyned and not ſatiffied, if that any ſuch decretis ſhall be produced againſt any ſpeciall perfons, the ſaid ſhall

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 132, fol. 159. As this and the preceding article vary in ſeveral particulars, it has been thought adviſable to print both, it being doubtful which of them was the answer finally given to the Notes of the Master of Gray.

haue full execucion against all such persons that are conteyned therein, their whole goodis and pofessions made stringzeable to the parties, or their lawfull factors, obteyners of the faid decret, and their bodies made punifhable, yf they may be comprehended.

Albeit, no further can be craued by any order of iuftice nor is conteyned in this aforefaid anfwere, yet her Maieftie, vpon speciall care and confideration moveinge her Maieftie, for the relievinge of the fubiectis of that countrey that hath bene troubled by Pirates, hath giuen speciall order, that certaine fine or taxacion fhould be levyed of her owne proper fubiectis, by the order whereof diuers complainers of that realme has already bene relieved, which good ordour her Maieftie, at the defire of the faid Mafter, fhall caufe be continued with expedicion poffible. And whatfoeuer fume fhallbe hereby recovered, fhallbe difpofed to fuch diftreffed perfons as fhallbe comended by the faid Ambaffadour aforefaid, and to none others. Her Maieftie craves the like iuftice may be done to the fubiectis of this realme, fpoyled by the Scottis Piratis, whereof there is great number of complainers, as more particuler wilbe vnderftood by their feuerall complaintis giuen to the Ambaffadour herevpon.

As touchinge the recepcion of fuch as the faid Ambaffadour termes declared rebells and traytours, which matters aboue all others is fo vehemently profecuted, her Maieftie protested, &c.

And yet notwithstanding, for removeinge of all iealoufie from her brother the Kinge of Scotlande his minde, of any their ill behaiour, through remayneinge on the frontyer, fuch order fhallbe giuen, that with fpeed they fhallbe retyred fo farre within this realme, that all fufpicion therof fhallbe avoyded, there to remaine vnto fuch tyme that further order may be taken thereanent, according to the finceritye of the faid Kinge her brother his meaneinge towardis her Maieftie, and the certification thereof to be made to her Maieftie by the faid Ambaffadour.

As touchinge Martine Alletts late complaint. The Wardens of the Marches, without knowledge of her Maieftie, or aduife of her counsell, contrayned through neceffitye, as appeares to haue remedied diuers infolen-cies comitted vpon the fubiectis of Englande by the faid Martine, who is a greate author and mayntayner of difordered perfons, affembled them-



felues together, in no such great power as is alledged, and fought the said Martine to his owne howse, where, we are informed, no great harme is done, and if any extraordinary hurte or skaythe be comitted, the Comissioners, which shalbe ordeyned to mete, may haue power to take order thereanent, according to the lawes of the Borders.

NOTES REGARDING THE MASTER OF GRAY'S PRACTICES AGAINST  
QUEEN ELIZABETH.<sup>1</sup>

THAT the Master of Gray hath bene priuie to some of the late practises, forreine and domestically, against her Maiestie, in fauor of the Scottish Quene, as may be probably coniectured by,

1. His inward familiaritie and continuall traffique in France with those of the house of Gwise, of whome he hath receaued extraordinary favour;—the Bishops of Glasco<sup>2</sup> and Roffe,<sup>3</sup> by whose means, it is reported, he tasted of the Popes bounty;—the Spanish Ambassador resident in France, of whome, as himself is said to haue confessed, he was at his comeinge out of France presented with a cupboard of plate valued to 5 or 6000 crownes.

2. His like continewall intelligence with other her Maiesties coniured enemyes and rebellious subiectis, as Morgan,<sup>4</sup> and others, and fugitives there.

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 137, fol. 163.

<sup>2</sup> James Bethune was consecrated Bishop of Glasgow in 1552, and held the See till the Reformation, when he retired to France, and was afterwards appointed Queen Mary's ambassador at the French Court.

<sup>3</sup> John Lesley was inducted to the See of Ross in 1566.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Morgan, one of Queen Mary's secretaries, whom she sent into France as the receiver of the rents of her dowry there. Morgan, in a letter to Queen Mary, 9th April 1585, thus writes regarding his correspondence with the Master of Gray.—“Now that Gray hath, I heare, dishonorably acquitted himselfe of your Majesty's service, there be some instrumentes that lay to me, that I procured his credit here, and with your Majesty he was commended out of Scotland by Father Holt, to some others of that Societie here, who gave him all the credit they cold to the Duke of Guise; and my Lord of Glasgo entertayned Gray with great respect of him, and all matters were to him imparted, God is my witnesse, never by me, but he colde tell me many particulars, which when I hearde, I was sorry

3. The speciall recomendacions giuen of him by the Scottis Quene to the King her sonne, and his favour and credite with him in the present revolution and change of thingis there.

4. The speciall trust reposed in him before some others her approved servantis, in the kepeinge and dispenfing of the money brought home by Ballandine, a little before the late Road of Sterlinge, to such vses as were deffigned by her and her instruments in France.

5. The good offices he hath done since his returne into Scotland in her favour, and furtherance of hir purposes.

6. His reception and enterteynement of Nugent the Irish fugitive with his companion, retynred of late into Scotland, specially recommended and addressed to him, and harboured in his fathers house; with the like reception giuen to Fulgiambe his companion, now fugitives.

7. His confessed relievinge of Fulgiambe with 300 crownes out of his store, by the Scottish Quenes direction. With other like particularities, which may suffice to prove boeth the mans former affections towardis her Maieftie and her state, howfoeuer he be now enclyned, and his ablenes, in some degrees, to discover *le pot aux roses*, if he list to speake plaine language.

#### THE MASTER OF GRAY TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.<sup>1</sup>

MADAME, to fullfill the promise I made in my last lettre unto your Maiefty, I have written the present at length, although with regret, for the great

to heare that the same were so dispersed; and thereof I advertised your Majesty, testifying the devotion he shewed to have to your Majesty's service. And indeede I thought that a gentleman of his qualite and religion cold never so ingratefullye and undutifully forget himselfe towardes his Soverayne Ladye and Mistresse; and so I hope your Majesty will not impute to me anye blame for his lewde parts, whereof he shall heare at my handes if I live to speake with him."—*Murdin's State Papers*, p. 442.

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MSS. No. 290, fol. 146. This letter is subscribed in cypher, and indorsed 'A cyppe of A.B. letter unto M.S.' But it bears internal evidence of being from the Master of Gray.

good will which I have borne ever to your service, since I was of age to know my duty, maketh me greatly to lament that all my meaning should be construed wrong. This I speak not without a great ground: For that same man Fontinie,<sup>1</sup> whom it pleased your Maiefty to recomend unto me in your last letter, hath used himselfe so undutifully to me, that I cannot imagine he durst haue enterprised the same, without speciall commandement from youe, as he effect hath declared. For he did shew unto the Kings Maiefty a letter which he said was written by youe, wherein was containd a counsell and advise that his Maiefty should not trust or confide any wayes in me, by reason that youe were assuredly perswaded, and had truly learned, that I had turned my cloke, and had taken another course, the which, if his Maiefty should follow, it should be bothe his ruine and your owne. This letter it pleaseth his Maiefty to shew unto me, because he had no suspicion in any sort of me, seeing he knew best what I ever said unto him, or what course I had counselled him to follow. Madame, if this letter were written by your Maiefty, I esteeme my good will very evile requited, and the recompence of my more earnest meaning unto your service very badd; for although it had ben so, yet your Maiefty should first have written the truth, and advertised myself, and if youe had found it, then to have used the next meane, and not, without all evident apparance, to have pressed so to disgrace me to my Master: Yet, Madame, I have such confidence in your wisdom, that I perswade myselfe the letter was the knaves owne invencion. If so it was that your Maiefty knew not of it, I beseech your Maiefty that I may have reason of him, and that your Maiefty write unto all your friends in France, and to your Ambassadour, the very truth of thinges; for I know there are advertisements very falsely spread of me, both forth of this country and Scotlande. I think your Maiefty will the rather do this, that some injury he hath donne unto your Maiestys owne service. For indeed I thought my service worth litle, if it deserved not thanckes; and I assure your Maiefty, unto the tyme I receive your promise, that this youe shall performe in effect, I will, in no sorte, medle with any thing that appertayneth to

<sup>1</sup> Fontenay was one of Queen Mary's French secretaries. He was banished Scotland for calumniating the Master of Gray.—See letter in this collection, p. 41.

your service; besides, that ever I shall accompt myself an example to all men, to be over frank in dealing in it. If it be indeede, þat the letter was written by yourself, I accompt myself very ungratfully used, (if so be a poore subject may capitulate with his prince,) and in that the yong man not in any fort to have fayled, feing what he did was donne by your commandement. Of force I must needs comport; yet shall not leave to do þe generall, which duty commanded me to do; but one thing I sweare, that if it might advantage me ten millions of gold, and disadvantage me my head, þat never, while I live, shall I medle with any your service in perticuler; and comit to this paper to dischardg me wholly of it in tyme to come. As I have already said, [if the letter] were not written at your Maiestys commandement, I crave only at this tyme your Maiestys promise þat for the weale of your owne affaires, I may have reason of the knave who did þe wrong. How ever it was, I esteeme myselfe very evill handeled, that your Maiefty should preferre þe advertisement of a pratling knave, to the experience youe have already had of my good will to þe advancement and well doing of your affaires. I marvaile greatly, (with many others), that your Maiefty ever employed such a fantastique creature, who is neyther wise, secreat, nor experienced, feing youe had a sufficient prouf how he was accompted of in Spaine, and what fruct he reported of his negociacion. For my owne part, at this tyme, I shew him freely I would in no wyse deale with him, and assured him his owne insufficiency would be the cause his negociacion would take litle or no effect; for there was no man whosoever about þe King, whome he touched not with his misreports, and honor and reputacion, and myself in diverse wayes, as in alleaging that I had receaved a thousand rose nobles from the Queene of England. This his Maiefty did shew me, in his owne face, who, knowing his owne unhoneft dealing, asked me pardon for it, simply without any excuse; þe which he dare not deny, if so it shall please your Maiefty to ask of him. This, Madame, is the very truth of his deportemente in Scotland, and the only occasion why he profitted nothing there; and if it had not ben for that respect which I did beare unto your Maiefty, and that he was a straunger, in recompence of that he misused me, I should have cutt both his eares. There is another gentleman in Scotland equall with

this in wyfedom, and nothing inferior in pratling, who hath, in lyke manner, written finiftrofly of me to the Bifhopp of Glasquo, and þe Jefuifts. The man is yong Fintry. But your Maiefty knoweth that he came into Scotland only to be at their devocion, without any perticuler respect eyther to your Maieftys affaires, or the King my mafter. But I hope at my returne, I fhall do good will to pay him home againe, and fend him the way he came. I care no thing his misreporting to thofe people, for it is long fince I did write unto your Maiefty that I would in no fort follow their advife in thinges, for I knew them to be very perticuler to them felves, refpecting no thing els but their owne advancement in greatnes and creadit without þe world. Therefore, Madame, although I love my religion as well as any Jefuift, or other Prieft in Europe, I fhall befeech your Maiefty not to follow any more their violent counfell. Albeit your Maiefty writs that nothing fhall caufe the Queen of England do more willingly then feare, yet this feare would be joyned with lenity and friendfhip, for this Counfell here is not fo bairnely, but they can very well diftinguifh feare in mouthes, from that which hath great appearance, and are not to be afrayde of wordes. And for my owne part I fee not þe appearance þat fhall affray them, nor yet the effect, and to fpeak truly I have given the Kings Maiefty this counfell, that he leane not any way to forrayne ayde, feing the furtheft ever I did yet fee exceeded not faire promifes. And this, Madame, if eyther youe or he leane to, it may deceave youe. Therefore, Madame, þe fame counfell I give unto your Maiefty, and befeeche youe remark it well, feeinge þe end of your defeigne is to be fucceffor to þe Crowne of Englande, my opinion is, that all violent courfes are injurie unto it, in two refpects. The firft, if youe fhould pretend any violence againft þe prince þat now reigneth, it were enough to animate fo þe fubiects hearts againft youe, that with great paine fhould they ever acknowledge any of youe for their prince, expecting the lyke violence to be ufed againft þemfelves, having ben faithfull fubiects in her tyme; and it is not unknowen unto your Maiefty what feare they have of this kind of violence in this contry, for the which caufe they have intituted their new affociacion, and fo farre as I can learn, the people is very willing to imbrace it. I will not infift

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any more to discourse of it, seing youe have already seene it. The second respect, I take it from the people, who being the only louers of peace, shall ever be enemy to all, who, in any sort, by any kind of meanes, or violent course, shall alter or disturbe their common tranquillity, seing that spoyle them of their geire. Therefore, Madame, as I shall answere, first to God, and next unto þe King my master, and your Maiesty, my opinion is, that youe follow some solide, calme and quiet course, as most advantageous for the accomplishment of your desseigne, and that in effect your Maiesty take with the Queen of England some honest, frendly, and quiet dres, to þe end that during her lyfe, without all jealousy, she possesse that which hath ben provided to her by God, and if so it please him, after her, your Maiesty and the King your sonne may enter with contentment, both to yourselves and your subjects, into a peacable kingdome. Your Maiesty may object, that in all overtures friends are to be retayned. I assent very well to that, but these friends must be others then forrayners, although I will grant that forraine friends are not to be trayned, but entertayned in very honorable termes. But the friends that shalbe most sure, are the subjects of Scotlande. And for this cause, Madame, I shall ever give the Kings Maiesty counsell to entertaine a firm and settled quietnes in his owne country, with his owne and among his owne subjects, and to quenche all trifle particulars, seing they may be impeachment of his further weale and greater comodity. This farre, Madame, I have written, to þe end your Maiesty may know þe King your sonnes will and intencion, and the occasion of my voyage, not to have proceeded uppon such grounds as are contayned in this your last letter, for, I assure youe I shall never be the instrument of any seperacion or division betwene youe and the Kings Maiesty your sonne, and this I will professe in presence of all Scotlande and England. As for the Earle of Arran, or any his accions, I will not answere. And thinck not, Madame, that I eyther follow or haud on him, or any other subject in Scotlande or England, but that I accompt myself in fellowship with þe best. And yet, Madame, as I write unto youe oft before, I cannot perceave the Earle of Arran to be enemy in your Maiestys affaires. To be plaine with your Maiesty, the King my master hath not

given unto me commandment to deale in all things conjointly, as if the affociacion were perfected in effect, but yet his will is, that I do for your Maiefty in all things that may tend to your weale and contentment; but of truth, (saying better advise), it is more fitt for your Maiefty that the King enter into folide frendship with þe Queen of England particularly, and then to dresse for youe, as his Mother, with her who then shalbe his frende. And thincke not, Madame, þe Kingis Maiefty to be so barnelike, that faire offers, without the apparant effect to follow, shall content him, as that I, his messager, am so destitute of good reason, that I cannot very well decerne the shadow from the verity. Uppon this, Madame, with all diligence I craue your answere.

Nowe rests to shew your Maiefty, that I have had conference with Monsieur de Maluifer,<sup>1</sup> whome I finde to be the same man your Maiefty declar-eth him to be. Emong other conference he asked me, whether it were true that Fontaine had said to the King my master, that he was altogether affected to the Queen of England, and that his Maiefty should not trust in him. In this I shewed him the very truth, and it was, that Fontaine did speake it to þe King. In this, Madame, I esteeme him as evill handeled as my self, for I have ever perceaved hitherto by his letteris, and now by him self, that he is no lesse willing to see as good successe of your Maiestys affaires, and the King your sonnes, then if he were your owne naturall subject. Therefore, as I desire for myself, so desire I that he may be satisfied, and prayeth, that hereupon I may have your Maiestys answere, for I beleewe it shall not be permitted that at this tyme I shall see your Maiefty, but I shall assay to have lycence to one of the gentlemen who are here with me, to visite your Maiefty on the Kings Maiestys part and my owne. I thank your Maiefty most humbly, that youe have written to þe King my master, in favour of suche as I

<sup>1</sup> Michael de Castelneau, or Chateaneuff, Seigneur de Malvissier, the French ambassador at the English court. Through him the partizans of Queen Mary appear to have corresponded with her Majesty. "The Bishop of Glasco receaved not three dayes agoe a paoquett from Mauvessier; though theie have no good opinion of Mauvessier's sufficiency, yet theie keepe in with him, and serve theire turns of him, and, in my opinion, theie have their intelligence to and from the Queen of Scotts by his meanes. Howe he getteth ytt to and from her I knowe not."—*Murdin's State Papers*, p. 410.

did recomend unto youe. But as for Cautyon, I never intended to place him in any farther estate with the Kings Maiefty, then to serue him as a generall Secretary, for there is no man more scrupulous to committ great affaires to petty companions then I am. Uppon the report that the last yere Mr Archibald Dowglas<sup>1</sup> was imprifoned, for having negotiated in your Maieftys affaires, and for that I understand he followeth no course offensive to the King my master, I have privily spoken with him, and finde him a very honest, wyfe man. As for the changing of your Ambaffadour in France, it shalbe best the Kings Maiefty be first acquainted with it, to the end the next man be chosen to his contentment. And I esteeme it shalbe very hard to find any worthy for it, yet the best is to be chosen.

Claude Hamilton<sup>2</sup> is already gone into Scotland, to the great discontentment of all the Kings rebelles and enemies, where he keepeth himselfe quiet. Your Maieftys man, litle William Dowglas, is lately departed into France, and hath left assygnation to the two thousand franks he hath lying on bank in Paris. The Laird of Eister Weymes, who hath come hither out of France, hoping to have obteyned lycence to have spoken with your Maiefty, but that was refused him. So I will request your Maiefty in his favour, that the will of the dead be kept unto him, and that no other prevent him at your Maieftys hands ; and in recompence I hope he shall do youe good service. Your Maiefty shall excuse me that I request for my frends, for I shall never request for my self, untill it shall please God to putt youe in better estate. As for other thingis contayned in your Maieftys letter, which presently I will not specifie, I shall not faile, God willing, to accomplish them to your Maieftys contentment. For, as I have already donne, (if I shalbe well used), I shall never spare lyfe nor geere in all your Maieftys honest accions, and this your Maiefty shall trust and perfwade your selfe, ever till pe effect declare pe contrary. I have written the present in Scottissh, and in open

<sup>1</sup> Mr Archibald Douglas, parson of Glasgow. Many of his letters to the Master and others will be found in this collection.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Claude Hamilton, Commendator of Paisley, fourth son of James second Earl of Arran.



letter, becaufe of þe fure conveyance, but the next ſhalbe more ſhort and ſecret, becaufe that my hand writing is knowen in this Court. I beleive your Maieſty ſhall with difficulty read this counterfait ſcribbling. So, ceaſing to importune your Maieſty with tedious diſcourſe, after having moſt humbly kiſſed your Maieſtys hands, I pray God, Madame, to ſend youe a long and happy lyfe, with better health and greater contentment then hitherto. At London, 22 of November, 1584.

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MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

GRAY, ſi ces ſeruices et bons offices, leſquels vous m'auez touſiours offertz, meuz (Je croye) par vray conſcience et cognoiſſance de deuoir vers voſtre Royne et mère de voſtre Maiftre, par elle receu en pareille dignité comme ſon vniue enfant et cher heritier, ne m'euffent pouſſée à vous recommander comme jeune homme de bonne race et de recommandables vertus, Je penſe que vous pourriez plus aiſément vous laiſſer aller, comme jeune, aux perſuaſions de ceux qui ne défirent que leur particulier commodité, négligent ne bien publique et ſeruices de leurs Maiftres. Mais comme en cela vous prétendez que tort vous vous eſt fait, faictes premier paroître vos effectz ſincères, et ſans particularité, conſidérant que c'eſt qu'importe le denier de ce, que mon fils a accepté de moy, vous le ſçauiez Je croy, ſinon J'ay de quoy le monſtrer et aſſez des téſmoins au beſoing. Mais ja à Dieu ne plaife, que mon fils fuſt ſi mal conſeillé de me contraindre à cela, vous deuiez parlant à moy de la part de mon fils, prendre mes aduis vous le ſçauiez. Or, Je vous diſ comme J'ay touſiours

<sup>1</sup> From a copy in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. fol. 162.

faict, soit ou d'une façon ou d'une aultre, Je ne veulx point de division, d'entre moy et mon enfant. Et que Je veulx, luy laissant tout le gouvernement et biens de ma propre volonté, l'asseurer de la juste possession, et ne demander que l'auctorité deue à mère, telle que Je suis, luy ne désaduoue plus donques l'association entre nous, si vous ne voulez mettre son tiltre en doute, et m'effortre d'y proceder par un aultre voye. Car pour vous dire en vng mot, Je pense faire honneur et deuoir de bonne mère à mon fils de le faire mon compaignon à traictre. Et qu'il traicte pour moy quiconque luy a mis cela en auant, n'est qu'un fot et vng traistre. Mon fils a l'honneur de mon costé et moy rien du sien : quell contentement de le voir vertueux, et en chemin de prospérer ! Je prétends de despendre entièrement de la Roynie d'Engleterre, Madame ma bonne foeur, comme sa plus proche parente, de faire une perpetuelle ligue avecques elle et entre nos pays, qu'a tousiours esté la promesse de mon fils, de me suiure en ses plus importantes affaires. Ceste cy c'est la plus Je m'asseure qu'il ne gouftera pas me défobeyr voir me griefuement offendre faisant le contraire, veu que tout ce que Je suis, c'est plus pour son bien que le mien, duquel mes maulx ennuieux m'ont faict perdre tout gouff sinon pour luy : s'il recule, J'appelle Dieu et tous les Princes Chrestiens à téfimoin, que J'ay faict deuoir de bonne mère, et que quoy luy en aduiendra après, il en saura gré à ceulx qui sont de ce conseil pris contre sa promesse, et celle de—Je n'en dirai pas d'auantage, vous m'entendrez, et vous souuienne que ce n'est vers moy qu'il fault diffimuler ou vser de commandement. Et Je ne croyra jamais que mon fils soit changé vers moy, ne luy en ayant donné aucune occasion ; mais Je me fais forte que tiendra la parolle et ce sans diffimuler se montrera naturel et obéissant fils. Et quant à vostre particulier, Je m'asseure que si oyez l'importance de ceste variation entre mon fils et moy, vous amyeriez mieux mourir que de mettre la main entre le bois et le corps, comme vostre commission l'importe. Et semble quant à vostre particulier vous estes mal informé, comme par après Je vous fairay entendre, et que le vent vient d'ailleurs que ne pensez ; avec le temps vous l'entendrez avec satisfaction, comme Nau vous pourra tesmoigner, le quel, tant pour le crédit qu'il a de moy que les bons offices qu'il vous a tousiours faictz en mon endroit,

vous pouvez bien croire: pour le moins, il est si entier et affectionné au service et de moy et de mon fils, qu'il n'a garde de préférer son particulier, ny par la langue faire tort à quelque ce soit. Et pour ce Je vous prie croyez le et faictes de bons offices, aduertissant mon fils en combien mauuaise part Je prendray ceste nouvelle inventée course, en ce faisant vous pourrez asseurer de ma bonne volonté vers vous et les vostres. A Dieu—qu'il vous ayt en sa garde. Wingfield, ce xiiij de Décembre, 1584.

Vostre bonne amie,

MARIE R.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF ARRAN.<sup>1</sup>

TRUSTIE, &c.—Your letteris, conteyneinge an offer, grounded vpon the King your Soueraignes comaundment of your service vnto vs, one whome, next vnto him, you protest to reuerence abou all other princes, giueth vs iuste cause to testifie by theis our letteris our thankfull acceptacion of the same. And for that it semeth that the continuance thereof, on your behalf towardis vs, dependeth altogether of our constant and freindly dealing towardis your said Soueraigne, in respect of his vowed good will towardis vs, before all other princes, wherin you wish solide correspondencye, we hope that we haue euer, since his first beinge, geuen so good testimonye of our love and affection towardis him, and of a singuler care we haue alwayes had of his well doeinge, as there is no cause that may iustlye be taken by anye, that are not parcially affected, to doubt of our perfeuerance therein, if we shall finde in him a thankfull acknowledgment and requytall towardis vs in that behalf, as we doe nowe assure our selues we shall: For we are not easilye carryed, especially by such as you note to haue made shipwrack of honestye, to varie or altour our course to-

<sup>1</sup> From the original Minute in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 134, fol. 161, dated 21st Dec. 1584.

wardis fuch as fhall continue conftant in well meaneing towardis vs. And, therefore, for your felf, as the groundis of your affection towardis vs femeth to be chiefly buylt vpon our good vfage of your Soueraigne, fo accordingly as you fhall carrye yourfelf towardis him, with that duetye that appertayneth to a feruant that poffeffeth that portion of credit that you doe, with a mafter of qualitee as he is, you may affure yourfelf we fhall, from tyme to tyme, efteme of you as by effectis you fhall finde in fo honorable forte, when opportunitye fhall be offred, as you fhall haue no caufe to fore think the great devocion and good will you profefse, or rather to vowe, towardis vs. And as touching this gentleman your freind, we doe not finde in him that francknes in revealeinge vnto vs fuch practifes as were intended againft vs, wherewith we knowe he was made acquainted, as we looked for, confideringe the afurance giuen, boeth by the Kings letteris, and your owne, vnto our couzen of Hunfdon, in that behalf. Some thingis in generality he hath deliuered vnto vs, whereof the greateft parte were before well knownen vnto vs. But if he would haue dealt as confidently therein, as he hath dealt paffionately in the purfuyte of the diftreffed noblemen retyred into this our realme, we fhuld then haue had better caufe to like of his procedeing, though we muſte nedes confeffe, that otherwife he hath carryed himſelf in that good forte, as we are glad the King, our good brother, hath fo rare and faithfull a fervant.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO KING JAMES VI.<sup>1</sup>

N'AYANT iamais de voſtre part ouy que vous feiffiez difficulté aulcune iufques à prefent, de forte que le langage que Gray en a tenu. Si au contraire m'a ſemble merueilleuſement eſtrange, ne me doubtant iamais ny que vous que J'aime fi chèrement, ny luy qui m'avoit donné tant d'affeurences de fon ſervice, euſſiez voulu me deuancer en aucun traicté

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 94, fol. 108, where this article is dated 5 Jan. 1584. See foot note, p. 8.

par deça à mon défavantage; et luy donner plustost le tort, ou à quelque particulier qui l'a dirigé, qu'à vous. Si c'est le Compte d'Arran, remenez luy que J'ay encores ses lettres, avec celles de divers aultres. Seigneurs pour l'approbation et confirmation de nostre affociation, &c.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, it vil please you, I vret of befor a priuie pacquet to Baruik directit to Capitaine Caruel,<sup>2</sup> bot þe lacky, not finding him thair, retournit me my letteris, so þat I knew not by quhat moyen to send my letteris, til yifterday I reseiuut aduertisment frome Capitane Caruel þat he lay at Beaucastell, on þe Vest Mairthes; yit þe vay is so vncertaine þat it vil be hard to mak a dayly vse of conuoy by it, vitche makis me be þe more earnest to defyr you prouyd fume sure moyen þe vitche I shall vse. And also, I vil fkairfe be so plaine presently, as otheruays I vold be if I kneu of a sure moyen, bot you shall know forder by fume vther meine. I haue directit a pacquet to my Lord Hunfdoun, containing one vnto hir Maiefty, as you vil see. As it pleasit hir Maiefty to account better of þe dischairge of my comission, þan any merit of myn deferuit, sa it haith the pleasit the King my maister to allou verie veil of my anfueris, as you vil see his auin letteris giue sufficient testimonie, as lykuayis of þat gryt good vil he doethe beare to þe Queene your souueraigne, and I speik it in conscience it is meint in effect; þairfor I pray you to be a good instrument for þe continuance of it, for althocht þe King vas verie evil informit of your good vil towardis him, yit I hoyp schortly it shalbe manifestit þat he nou accountis them leiers, for in deid I declarit vnto his Maieftie treuly futché disposition as I fand in you. I must neidis pray you of one thing, þat you be no henderer to lat þe bainist gentlemen pas furthe of Ingland for

<sup>1</sup> From the original Cott. MSS. C. IX. art. 43, fol. 95. This letter is indorsed in a contemporaneous hand, 'From the Master of Gray—Kings association with his mother.'

<sup>2</sup> Robert Carvyle, one of the Captains of Berwick. He was frequently employed in conveying correspondence between the English and Scottish courts.

a feason, and in þat doing it ſhall be found you ar their verie gryt freind, for þair name is nou ſo odiouſe to þe King þat the more any man mak for them, the vors is thair eſtet; ſo þat the grytyſt veil preſently thay can haue, is to avoid all occaſion of jalouſſie, and abyd tym, and I affur you tym vil be þair gryteſt freind þan any thing ellis. I haue vrittin my opinion frely in þis maiter vnto hir Maieſtie, þe vitche, I beleue, ſhalbe participat vnto you. Thair ennemis be in very gryt crediet, yit vithe futche a continuall feare, as I rather be dead than continually deing, if I ver in þe lyk caes. I prayſe God my crediet augmentis dayly vithe my Maifter, ſo þat I haue þe better moyen to interferm the freindſchipe begune betuene thair Maieſties; feu vthers preſently haithe any gryt crediet, bot þe Earle of Arrane. The Secretaire, Mr Maitlaine, is in good favouris, yit not in ſpeciall crediet. Ther be many gryt jalouſeis preſently amongis our ſelfis, yit ve comport þe beſt ve may. The tym is verie feit preſently, þat ſume gentleman be ſend heir vithe horſis to his Maieſtie, for he ves verie glaid quhan I ſhoued him, þat hir Maieſtie would ſend him ſume opine token of opinly profeſſit freindſchipe. The ſouner þe gentleman come it ſhalbe þe better, for þan you ſhall be more plainly, and at gryter lenthe, aduertit of all thingis in theis pairtes. The King is marvelouſly comoueit preſently, at þe euil handelng of me by his mother, and that day I diſchargit myſelf of my embaffad, it ves votit in one voice by all his Counſell, þat the Afſociation ves a thing verie dyſauantageuſe bothe for þe King his Maieſtie and countré, and conſequently vorthy to be anulit for euer. So as he haithe auouit me by his auin letteris to hir Maieſtie, þat it ves neuer concludit ſo, nor heirefter it ſhall neuer fall in queſtion. And becaus it ves ſumquhat ſlandrous þat Nau haid ſaid, þe Quene, his Maieſtie his mother, haid þe moyen to caus him put vater in his vyn, þe Counſell thoct it meit þat Fontainie, hir man, ſould mak furthe of the countré; ſo he is to obey vithe the firſt comoditie. Befor my homecoming he has maid a thouſand leiſings, and amongeſt diuers vpers, he ſaid þat his brother Nau haid maid him aduertifment, þat I had promiſit in England to kil þe Earle of Arrane; ſo it being reueilit, I ves ſumquhat vrothe vithe him, and intendit to haue reuengit one him þe querel I bare, bothe agenſt his brother and him ſelf, bot his Maieſtie commandit me þe contraire. I vil vryt no more þis

vay til I heir frome you. It vil please you participat pis letter to my Lord Leicester, and your sone Sir Philip Sidnie. I have vrittin to bothe; bot quhan I find a more fure commoditie I fall more plainly vryt. I intendit to haue vritten to hir Maiestie by pis vay, a resolution of fume things I promifit by my last letter, bot, as yit, I can not, becaus I haue not, as yit, ful resolution my self; bot it vil please you, Sir, excuse me, and pray hir Maiestie to keip it secret pat I vryt to you, for auoyding of jaloufie. Remember pat my Lord Hunfdoun vrytt, the quhair you knaw. I tak leue, efter haueing kiffit your handis, and committis you, Sir, to God his holy protection. Att Hollyrud hous pis 24 of January, 1584.

Your verie affectionat freind  
to do you seruice,

*Maister of Gray*

To the Ryght Honorable his speciall good  
freind, Sir Francis Valsinghame, Cheiffe  
Secretarie to hir Maiestie, and one of  
hir honorable Privie Counsell.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE YOUR MAIESTIE, of leat thair haithe bein a copie of a letter divulgat in this country, and at lenthe fallin in his Maiestie his handis, vitche is spokin to haue beine vrittin by your Maiestie vnto the Lord Maxuell, promising him affittance in this his foolish attempt.<sup>2</sup> In caice you do

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 67, fol. 140. The second page has originally been written with invisible ink, and brought out by some chemical agent, but it is now unfortunately illegible, with the exception of a word here and there.

<sup>2</sup> The 'foolish attempt' evidently alludes to the insurrection of Lord Maxwell, lately created Earl of Mortoun, in favour of the banished Lords, which commenced by his attack

not find all thingis performit, according as ves promifit by þe King his Maieftie his Ambaffador, yit his Maieftie would in no vays beleue, til futche tym as he nicht know of your felf, quhou far in this propofe haid bein knowin vnto your Maieftie, vitche is the occafion of my prefente importunitie and bouldnes: For althocht, if the letter be frome your Maieftie, the King, my maifter, is a litle intereftit, yit I, as a poor minifter of his, eftime my felf more, feing it is eneuche to lofe all credit I haue vithe his Maieftie, haveing promifit more of your Maieftie hir part than he fhall fee effectual, and yit no more than that your vryt fhall fufficiently teftifie. Quhairfor I pray moft humbly your Maieftie, ether to aduertis, or caufe me be aduertifit, if the letter proceidit frome you, or if it be donne of propofe be þe faid Lord Maxuell, as in deid I tak it to be. Quhoeuer it be, vell I am affurit to heir þe treuthe from your Maieftie, feing vtheruayis it fhallbe verie preiudicyable to my crediet, the vitche, if I lofe, your Maieftie vil find þe lofe gryter than þe neu conquieft freindfchipe. So taking leue, I kis moft humbly your Maieftie hir handis. At the Scottife Court þis 29 of April, 1585.

Your Maiftie hir moft humble feruiter,

*Maifter of Gray*

A la Ma<sup>te</sup>.

De la Royne d'Angleterre

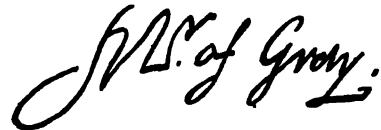
on the Johnstons, and ultimately succeeded by the surprise of the King at Stirling in November following. 'Vpone the vj of Apryle 1585, Robert Maxvell, brother to the Erle of Mortoun, brunt the Laird of Johnstounis house of Lochivood, and being accompanied with sundrie freindis, tuik a great number of his men.'—*Moyrie's Memoirs*, p. 52.



THE MASTER OF GRAY TO MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, my leafur permittis me not þat I can vryt to you particularlie, bot vithein thre dayis you ſhalbe aduertift of all þing heir at lenthe, for to impert to my freindis in theis pairtis. In þe mid tyme, I haue vretin to my Lord Leiceſter and to Mr Secretarie, who vil impert thair letteris to you. I pray you interteine me in þair good grace. I feir I be conſtrainit to imploy them, for I am hardly preffit by my vnfreind. So I deſyr you to ſpeik to the Quene þat I ſhall do no thing, except my lyf be in dainger, bot if I find it ſo, you ſhall perſuad hir þat it is meiter I be to þe fore than hir ennemie, and fend me hir opinion of þis point. Mr Votton is verie honourably refaueit of his Maieſtie, and for my awin pairt, I ſhall do good vil þat he ſhall haue cauſe to lyk of my ſelf. I remit all vther thingis to þe uther tuo letteris, and committ you to Goddis holy protection. Frome our Court at Holyrud þis laſt of May, 1585.

Your affectionate freind,



To his varie affectionat freind  
Mr Archibald Douglas.

Sen Roger<sup>2</sup> pairtit I haue diſkifferit him to be a knaif better than of befor, bot I caire not; lat him incur no ſkaiſhe.

Remember me oft to Sir Philip Sidney.

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 66, fol. 139.

<sup>2</sup> There is written on the back, in a contemporaneous hand, 'Rog. Ashton doubted.' He was an English Messenger between the Courts of England and Scotland.

FRANCIS STEWART, EARL OF BOTHWELL, TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

MY LORD AND BROTHER, I hewe refewet ane letter from his Maieftie, verray fcharp, defyryng me to wreit þe heill purpoifis þat was betwix Sir William Stewart<sup>2</sup> and me yefterday, as oft ye mouet. I faid to him, vithin ten dayis, I fwold heire presentlie to þe hwrt of fwm mon about his Grace, quhilk gif I wald declair þe verray trewth, I fwold heue his Heihnes fauor and prefece foner nor I belewit. I hewe wretine at lenth þe hiele fircumftainces of þat matier to his Maieftie to þe reporteing of them, as falbe manifest, praying you to geit þe fyght of my faid letter, þat ye may be af-furit of [my] honeft part in that, as becumis me of my honour. Now, Sir, I am glad, vith my hert, that thair ewill will towartis me manifestis to fek formis of deling; to be fchort, quhair I am oblifit to beir gud will, I falbe treu and constant. Gif my Lord of Arren, or Sir William, vill allage any thing in my naime þat I reportit to tham, I fall cawyfe tham eit in thair wordis in thair throt. Theirfoir be of gud cwrage, and cair nocht thair vikkit inuention. Do quhat thay can, prowying we hewe the King our Maieftys gud fawor, albeit thay ar knawin to be fik men as they ar, yet lat nocht þe Secretar nor þe Justice Clark dowt of my honeftie, quhom onto I profes freindfchip, nor your Lordfhip quhom in herte I fa grytlie efteime; as your brother James,<sup>3</sup> and Thomas Tyrir<sup>4</sup> will in þat fchaw you

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. fol. 203.

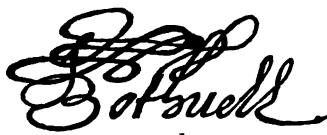
<sup>2</sup> ' This Sir William Stewart was in his qualiteis and behavior na thing different from his brother, the Erle of Arran; a testimonie whareof he utterit in uncumlie words, upon a day in the Kings chalmer, aganis Francis Erle Bothwell. The said Bothwell having regarde to the place, said na thing for that tyme; bot within this tyme that Maxwell is his preasoner in Edinburgh, it fortunit Bothwell and Sir William to encounter with thair cum-paneis, whare Bothwell maid the first onset for the former injurie, accompaneit with a broder of Patrik Maister of Gray, whome Sir William had delatit of before; and after a light combat Sir William was killit out of hand.' This event occurred in 1588.—*Hist. of James the Sext*, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> James Gray of Davidstoun, one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber.

<sup>4</sup> It is probable that Thomas Tyrir, or Tyrie, was the son of David Tyrie of Drumkilbo, who married Lillas, fourth daughter of Patrick fifth Lord Gray.

at meir lenth. Swa, my hertlie commendationis being rememberit, I commit yow to þe protection of God. From Leith, þe xiiij of June, 1585.

Your Lordships meift lowing brother at power,



THE SPEACHES BETWEENE THE EARL BOTHWELL AND SIR  
WILLIAM STEWART.<sup>1</sup>

SIR WILLIAM STEWART demaunded, 'What should be the occasion of the crymes betwixt my Lord of Arrane and me?' Whome to I answered, 'The innumerable breakes of his frendship never deferved by me.'

He replieth, 'What if all those may be taken away, are you not willing to enter in friendshipp as of before?' I answered, 'By what manner?' He answered, 'I shall cause him oblige him self to gett you the Kingis Maieftys prefence, yet ere his Maieftie goe over the water.' 'In doing that, I should acquite my Lord of Arrane, as it apperteyned alwayes.'

'Are you not willing to enter into an sure band of frendship with him?' I answered, 'That I could not, nor would not, enter with him, who had so shamefully broken his faeth and promife, till first hee obteyned me your Maiefties prefence, at what time I should enter with him, as he had deferved at my hands.'

'Well, I knowe what makes you so hard to enter in frendship with him.' 'What is that?'

'I knowe there is ten or twelve of you banded and confederate to the slaughter of the Erle of Arrane.' 'If you will fay that I am banded, or that know any others to be banded, in his contrary, in that I will fay you

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 171, fol. 201. These speeches are alluded to in the previous letter.

lyed. And yf I had knowne, I should never haue beene participant of no Stewartes skayth or blood.' 'Alwayes I knowe you to be entred of new with some who hates him deadlie.' 'Who are thofe?' 'You know them better then I.' 'It becomes me not to make any acquainted, but of my own free will.'

'Alwaies, and are ye not in frendship with the Master of Gray?' 'I am.' 'And the Secreter?' 'I haue no other occafion.' 'Yet I knowe you fauour them beft of any man.' 'Truly it is of treuth, and fhall fortifie and affift them in all their honeft caufes againft all men, his Maieftie onlie excepted.'

'Well, are ye not in frendship with my Lord of Montroffe?' 'Hout, hout, what devill I haue to doe with my Lord of Montroffe, but in ane common manner.'

'Alwaies to returne to our purpofe, knowe ye nothing of their pretenfes in my brothers contrar? I pray you tell me, and geue me your advife and counfayle.'

'As to knowe any thing to be done in his contrar, by God, I am not participant in noe wayes. But this ffar I knowe him to haue a generall mifliking of the whole nobilitie and barons of this realme, fo that all the whole countrey, were it deuided into tuenties, I am affured there would not be fcarcelie one of each tuentie that would wifhe him well.'

'Then geue me your counsell howe it may be mended?' 'By this only meane, *Præstat fero fapere quam nunquam*. Wott ye what that is? Better late thrive then never. Therefore my counsell is, that, if he be willing to conquesse the heartes of thofe which is lofed, he muft be of a newe converfation; he muft leave briberie and extraordinary extorcions, both of riche and poore, and caft him to winne noble mens heartes, or elfe he will not fayle to lye in the myre.'

'My Lord, I will not trouble you anie longer; but I will goe to my Lord of Arrane, and I fhall caufe him fatiffy you for all his bypaft offenses, which, if he fayle to doe, I fhall then thrief my felf of him, and binde me to you againft all whome foeuer.'

'Sir, I thanck you hartefully.' So we ended on Sunday, at three afternoone or thereby.

On Munday in the morning, moved by what motion I know not, where to see his love, or moved by some extraordinary occasion, he addresseth him self to Trebrin, where not having comoditie, wee delayed our whole conference, while we were on horſback coming to Edinburgh; where he began to enter in respect of our former purpose, and began so: 'My Lord, if you would tell the truthe to the Kinges Maieſtie of all thinges, you would gett his preſence.' I answered, 'By God, ſo far as I knowe.'

'Then may I ſay to the Kinges Maieſty, that you will declare to his Maieſtie them twelve noble men who are confederate and banded to take my Lord of Arranes life, or, at leaſt, to debarre him his Maieſties preſence; or, may I ſay it in your name?'

'In my name!' I answered, before Mr Robert Hepburne, who heard the whole purpoſe. 'Yes, I will ſay it to the Kinges Maieſtie in your name.' 'Nay, an you ſay it, by Godis body, I will ſay that you lied like a knave in ſaying of it.'

'Yet I may ſay that you are banded with the Maſter of Gray and the Secreter?'

'Nay, neither; for and ye ſay that, yet you lied. But ſay that I eſteeme of the Maſter of Gray and the Secreter, as my moſt ſpeciall friendis, and that ſay.

THE COPIE OF ERLE BOTHWELL'S LETTER TO THE KING.<sup>1</sup>

I HAUE here ſett downe vnto your Maieſty, the true diſcourſe of the whole purpoſe paſſed betwixt vs, at both our meetings, which ended on a promes on his parte, that I ſhould haue preſence this day, yf I would enter in frendſhip with the Erle of Arrane. Wherefore, ſeeing it is offered to me conditionally by other handis, and yet I haue your Highnes promes, both by my ſervant and your Maieſties laſt letter, that I ſhall haue it in Dumfermeling, I muſt inſiſt that, as ſoone as it may ſeeme convenient to your Maieſtie, I may be beholden in it to your Maieſties owne good will and favour. So praying your Maieſtie to haue as great patience in the reading, as I haue had in the writing of it, after kiſſing of

<sup>1</sup> This article is referred to in Bothwell's letter to the Maſter of Gray.

your Maiesties handis, moſte humbly, I take my leave, committing your Maieſty to Godis good proteccion. From Leyth the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of June, 1585.

HEADS OF INSTRUCTIONS GIUEN TO CAPTAYNE BRUCE FOR G. BY A.<sup>1</sup>

**SHEWE** the Maſter of Gray the danger wherein he appeares to remayne, and that he needes not hereafter to look for any favour here, vnles he be able to make excuſe for deedis paſt, which, in my opinion, he cannot be able to doe, without his vtter ruine, except he poſſeſſe our Soueraignes favour, that he may let him vnderſtand.

POSTSCRIPT IN THE SAME INSTRUCCIONS BY A. TO G.

**SIR,** Theis proceedings are evill fallen out for the King his ſervice, and worſe for your particuler welfare; and I cannot beleif that you would alter your former courſe, vnles you were entered on ſome other that you thinck better for his ſeruice and your owne weale. Yf ſo be, I pray you lett me knowe thereof, that I may retire my ſelf in ſafety and honeſty forth of this realme, to followe your fortune whatſoeuer; ffor here wilbe no abiding for me, if theis baniſhed Lordes ſhall receaue the comfort they looke for. What was prepared for you and frendes, if theis vnhappy newes had not interuened, the bearer can declare. I pray you haſte the anſwere hereof and of the memoriall with expedition.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>2</sup>

**SINCE** the directing of my laſte vnto you of the date of the foureteenth

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS Calig. C. VIII. art. 193, fol. 226. Dated 20th Aug. 1585. This and the following letter appear to have been written by Mr Archibald Douglas, then at the English Court, to the Maſter of Gray.

<sup>2</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 194, fol. 226. This article is titled in the manuſcript, 'A letter written in white inke from A. to G. the xxj. of Auguſt 1585.'

of Auguste, I haue beene diuers times at Courte, and haue assayed, by such small credit as I haue, to qualify some of theis hard apprehensions conceaved of our Soveraignes proceedinges. I perceave my travell can not prevayle, neither see I howe this matter can be well helped, vnles some matter in action be performed, whereby this inconstant dealing, so termed by those of the Councell, may be removed. Her Maieftie doth vtter speeches that she would neuer haue beleueed that the King, or any of his wife Councell, would so far ouer seene them selues, as to write one day to her that such and such matters should be performed, and on the next day thereafter, not abiding her answere, would then overthrowe the same: so manifest a mockery, that noe gentleman of reputation would haue vsed the like to his inferiour or fervaunt. And as hir Maieftie and Counsaillors are grieved at the manner of proceedinges, so is there a number of gentelmen, frendes to the trespasssed, wounded in minde, for the slaughter of the gentell man of so greate expectacion; whereuppon there is occasion taken by vnfreendis to aggravate this matter in such manner, that hardly can any man or assured frend be found who will help to mittigate this matter; and that which may help this matter, I feare, will be so vnpleasent to his Maiesty, that I will not presume to open my parte of it. Theis banished Lordes are like, not only to finde the assistance and favour of all persons grieved, but also to procure greater liberty, which, vnto this time, had been streight by th'only meane of Sir Francis Walsingham, the remanent Counsaillors, for the moste parte, being absent from Court. My Lord of Leicester is not yet returned, but by letters which I haue seene from his Lordship, he heavily lamented the manner of theis proceedinges, specially bycause of the good appearance that might haue ensued, if matters had beene right followed out.

As I writte vnto you before that Andwerp was rendred, so is it nowe . . . . . The forme of the appointment shalbe sent vnto you by the next. Her Maiestye had receaued the countrey of Holand and Zeland, geuen vnto her by the Estates thereof, and hath but 9000 men for receaving possession of such townes as shuld be deliuered into her keeping. Theis twoo provinces, beeing the places in Christianity most abundant in shippes, beene ioyned to this country, are thought able, not only to

defend them selves againſt all enemies that would invade of bothe, but alſo to ſtopp any other nation, but ſuche as they pleaſe to approve in any porte of this Iland, or her Maieſties dominions; and hereuppon they haue founded the firſte ſurety of this eſtate, and are not muche like to ſeeke the ayde of any foren Prince for eſtableſhing of their ſurety. I pray God his Maieſty may be moved to deviſe ſome good meanes, whereby hir Maieſty may remayne contented of his proceedinges, and his Highnes recover the favour which he vniuerſally had obteyned of this floureſhing nation, abounding in wealth and riches. In France it is geuen out, that the King altogether miſlikes of theis Guifardis, and that there doth appeare a peace to followe betwixt the King and Proteſtantes, whereby the former edict ſhalbe ratified, and the laſte abolifhed. Poverty, and lack of mony to ſuſteyne theis warres, is like to produce theis effectis, and that ſhortly. As matters falleth out you ſhall haue further aduertefement.<sup>1</sup>

I began your letter with no ſmall regard, bycauſe I feared the ſame cours to be in hand at this time, which of before I cauſed Thomas Milles, vnder ſecrett, to open vnto you. I moſte hartely pray you to be wyſe, and with your ſelf to conſider thereof. The opening of it may doe great harme, and keeping ſecrett with knowledge no ſmall good. The remedy in theis matters for your particuler apperes to be this, to excuſe your ſelf by writt, and to move the King to deale by action hereafter, and yf you can be the doer your ſelf, you will recover reputation to bothe. Before this can come to your handis, the Ambaſſadour will lett you to vnderſtand what is reported of you, and committ to his eares, and he will deſire to knowe the verity thereof of your ſelf. But I think he will not let you vnderſtand who is the reporter, bycauſe I would not obteyne ſo far commaund to be geuen vnto him. But this far I can not hide from you, the men that you ſuſpect are the doers, which I pray you, moſt hartely, to keepe ſecrett, bycauſe the opening thereof wilbe my vtter diſcredite, and hurtful to yourſelf. The found of the report is this: You are the chief furtherer of Arenes liberty; hath receaved good deed for doinge thereof;

<sup>1</sup> The continuation of this letter, as ſtated in the MS., was written 'in white incke, of the ſame day, and to the ſame perſon, from A.'



is entred in dealing with the Jefuites; and vfeth diffimulacion in the courfes with England. The matter was very hardly taken here, fpecially by her Maiefty, and heauily lamented by your speciall freindis. And truly matters are entred in fo hard apprehenfions, that I feare this inconstant kinde of dealinge of imprifoning at one day, and releafing at another, without her advife, fhall giue occafion of fpeech and thinking, at all times hereafter, that nothing fhall beleeved of that which fhall come from that countrey, except it fhall confift in actions. And, to fpeake the truthe, it was not well done to fett Arren at liberty before returning of her Maiefties Ambaffadour, by reason all men condemnes the King in that matter, eether of inconstancy, or then pat it was done for iefting with her Maiefty, which is very euil taken, as will appeare by her Maiefties letteris to the King. I haue travelled diuers times that her Maiefty might haue vfed fome mitigation, but I perceave my labours will not prevayle, vnles his Maiefty make fome amendement by action. So far as concerneth theis banifhed Lordes, I fee the whole frendis of Sir Thomas Ruffell not only minded to giue them countenance and affeftance, but her Maiefty is alfo begining to give eare to their petitions, and to caufe questions of their force at home to be demaunded. *It wilbe dangerous to fuffer that courfe to goe forwardes, by reason it cannot be called back when men would. In my opinion it fhall be well done to lay the perill open to his Maiefty,* and to lett him vnderftand nothing can help that matter, and bring him in credite and favour here, as he was before, except doing by action; and no action can be able to help, but the releiving of the banifhed Lordes, or then the deliuery of Arren and Ferniherft,<sup>1</sup> to be vfed at their pleasure, or then the performing of both. I think reason fhould move his Maiefty to remeid theis matters, before they come to further ripenes, otherwife when men would doe good, matters wilbe vnremedible, as I writ to you before that writ was loft.

I dare make no recommendacion vpon this text left I fhould efeme partiall.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Ker of Fairniherst.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.<sup>1</sup>

MY HONOURABILL LORD. Albeit that finding my felf verie far interefit, by the to fodune aduertifment the Embaffadour maid of me, I affuret him that I would not deall forder in maiters, til I fould haue bein fatiffiet: yit, feing the King, my Souueraine, his eftet perrefht, the courfe lykly to be ouerthrown, and my felf and my freindis apperantly to be reducit to futchie miferie, that our lyfis and landis fould be fubiect to the mercie of our enemies, I haue impertit to him the verie moyen quhou all theis euillis may be remediit, and hes left afe all particulier querell. I ves heir in futchie place as I could not vryt my felf in chiffre, and I would not commit it to patent letter, fo I haue prayit him to vryt of it to your Lordship and the reft of my honourable freindis. And fume other thing I haue vritten to Mr Douglas, for to fchau your Honour, and vil pray you for your helpin hand, and, in grace of God, I fhall bring maiters about, to the veil of bothe pe princes and realmes, to the contentment of you and all godly perfonages, and for the ruin of my ennemeis, quho hes diffirt my vrak, and of the courfe, and to the gryt difpleafur of all richt men. It vil please your Honour to mak Mr Douglas acquent vithe your Lordships counfell, quhou ye villit I fould vfe my felf in maiters, to the end, he may lat me vnderftand it in chiffre; and I fhall do good vil to conforme my felf in all thingis to your contente. Bot one [thing] cheifly is to be aduiffit vpon, that Arrane and Mortoun ar pacquit vpe, and maiters compofit betwene them, for it hes a forder tail than ve haue hithertile forfein, albeit in deid it haithe verie gryt fchow: of the effectis, I haue deluerit to the Embaffadour and Mr Douglas; for it is of treuthe that their Jefuiftes repairit to Mortouns hous, and euer fince he hes haid, as is fpokin to the King, in his hous daily, mefs, and all his men, for fure, ar payit vithe Frenche crounes. So that ve feir the apprehenfion of the King

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art 195, fol. 228.

his awin perfoun for to be takin in France; vitche accordis verie veil to pat my oncle came for to mak me aduertisment, pat the hole Guifartis hoppit shurly to see the King in France yit befor Allhallowday. The vorst is the King is young and cairles, and in his tym hes neuer teastit any frowning storme, vitche makis him beleue that no man dar attempt any futsche maiter. Bot if thingis be not in tym remediit, I am schreudly affrayit that he become vyfe throu a verie hard experience; bot of pis your Honour vil know more particulairly a vther day. As your Honour thinkis expedient, you may schaw of pis to pe Queen hir Maiestie your Souueraine. Now only restis to thank you verie grytly, for the courtaisie schewit to my oncle. I hoyp in recompence I shall mak him do you seruice. So taking leue, I comit your Honour to God his holy protection. Frome our Court at Inchemerin, quhair skairfly for hounting ether do ve fleip or eat, 25 of Auguft, 1585.

Your Honours obedient to do you seruice,

*Mr of Gray*

To his honorable Lord th'Earle of  
Leicefter, Gryt Steuart of England.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

HER Maiefty vnderstanding that you should be greatlie greeued, vpon some doubt conceaued, that her good concept of you was altred vpon informacion sent from thence, that you were fallen away from that deuotion you professed to beare towards her, she hath willed me to signefie vnto you, that in case she should haue beene so lightlie carried away vpon a bare informacion, without reseruing an eare for you, she should have

<sup>1</sup> From the original minute, dated 4th September 1585, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 200, fol. 133.

done noe lefs wrong to herfelf than vnto you,—vnto her felf, for that it ftandeth not with the place of iuftice ſhe holdeth, to condemne anie to die vnheard;—and vnto you, that having deferued, (as no man more), fo greatlie at her handes, ſhe ſhould fayle to yeald you that, which every comon perſon may, in courſe of iuftice, clayme, and that is, the refervacion of an eare. Befides, when ſhe looked into your birthe, which is honourabill, that noe pointe of honour is greater then to be true of word, or vnto your iudgment and wifedome, which can not but right well difcerne, that noe frendſhipp or amitie can be fo profitable as the amitie of England vnto the King, your maifter, of whoſe well doinge noe Scott can be more carefull, ſhe cannot thincke that you can be eaſilie carried away by a contrarie courſe, to ſfayle either in pointe of honour touching yourſelf, or in dutie touching your foueraigne. And therefore, doth pray you to lay all doubttes and iealouſies aſide, and to affure your ſelf that the Queen of England will never condemne ſo devoted a gentelman, as the Maſter of Gray is, vppon ſlight brutes without receaving your anſwere.

This much I wrote by her Maieſties comaundement and eſpeciall direccion. For my ſelf I doe affure you that no one thing did, for the time ſince I entred into the publique charge I nowe holde, greeue me more then that our Ambaſſadour, through ſuch a cunning practiſe and abuſe offered him, ſhuld be made an inſtrument to call in queſtion the credite of his beſt frend, and one whome he hathe profefſed to loue moſte in that realme. But this breach is nowe falved, and that opinion conceaved of you, that you have right worthily deſerved, which I will ſeeke to nour-iſhe with noe leſſe care then my owne perticuler credite. And ſo, Sir.

MONSIEUR FONTENAY TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.<sup>1</sup>

MADAME à ce que je peux prévoir des choſes D'Eſcoffe, ceſte negocia-tion D'Angleterre ſe reſouldra en fumée, ou pour le moins il ſe paſſera

<sup>1</sup> Extracted from Fontenay's letter, dated at Paris, 'ce premier de . . . , 1585,' in *Murdin's State Papers*, p. 538.

beaucoup de avant que l'en venir à une conclusion; mais cependant Gray se fervant de l'autorité de la Reyne D'Angleterre, pour disgracier Aran, et se mettre en sa place, je crains et croy qu'il remplira l'Ecosse de factions et divisions, opposant les Hamiltons, à la mayson de Lennox. Encore que les commencemens de pratiques du dit Gray n'en donnent apparence, il est apres aultant qu'il peult pour fayre retourner en cour, et repatrier avec le Roy d'Ecosse, les contes De Huntley, D'Athol et Bothwell, et aultres, par le lemoyen desquelz il faiët estat de fayre rappeler les Hamiltons à la ruine du conte D'Aran, et pour leur moyen le combattre de son autorite, ce qui en fin ne peult revenir qu' avec un tres perilleux hazard et du Roy vostre filz, et par consequent de vostre majesté. Laquelle, a ceste cause, je supplie tres humblement me faire scavoir lequel de deux elle mieux aymeroyt la rayne du conte D'Aran, ou De Gray, pour ce que j'ay intelligence avec l'un et avec l'autre pour conduire cest affayre selon vostre desir. A la verite il feroyt fort expedient de ruiner le conte D'Aran, et par le moyen de Gray, en ce faysant, faire approcher de Roy le conte de Huntley et aultres bien affectionnez à vostre majesté, mais je crains que cela advenant par le moyen de Gray, et consequemment par l'entremise de la Reyne D'Angleterre, ceulx qui auparavant en despit D'Aran, qui l'an passe negocioit avec elle, luy estoient ennemis, ne deviennent les vostres, par ses pratiques et corruptions. La foudaine et frequente mutation D'Ecosse, et des humeurs de la plus part de ceulx, qui y vivent, principalement en cour, me faiët apprehender cest inconvenient, quequel promesses qu'a mon parlement le conte D'Huntley, et plusieurs aultres m'ayent faiët de leur fidelité à l'endroit de vostre majesté, et pour ce, si j'en estoys creu vostre majesté ne se declareroyt ny d'un coste, n'y d'autre, jusques à ce que vostre majesté vist plus clairement lequel de deux est pour demuerer aupres du Roy. Je scay bien que Gray desespere de puoir jamais mais obtenir pardon de vostre majesté, faiët tout ce qu' il peult pres du Roy, et sous son autorite pres de la Reyne D'Angleterre, pour faire defarmer vostre majesté De Nau, et tous aultres serviteurs Francoys, et en leur place en substituer l'aultres Anglois ou Escossoys à la devotion de la Reyne D'Angleterre, et d'un Roy D'Ecosse, qui des auparavant que je partise D'Ecosse, j'en ay faiët solliciter vivement le Jus-

H

tice Clerke fon dernier embaffadeur en Angleterre. Le conte de Montroffe aigné la bande du conte D'Aran avec plufieurs aultres my lords et barons. Au contraire Huntley, Bothwell, Athol, le Secretaire Methland, Sir Robert Melvin, et aultres y compris les puynez Setons (car my lord eft du cofte du conte D'Aran), onteigné la bande de Gray contre luy. My lord Claude Hamilton, qui eft par deça, a d'efperance de retourner en Efcoffe par ce moyen. Madam, voyla ce que je fcaay et prevoy de l'eftat D'Efcoffe pour jourd'huy, me mettant du refte à ceulx qui en fcavent plus de moy.

THE RELATION OF THE MASTER OF GRAYE, CONCERNING THE  
SURPRISE OF THE KINGE AT STERLINGE.<sup>1</sup>

FOR the reformation of matters out of order, both in the court particularly, and the gouvernement generally, of Scotland, and the removeing of fome bad instrumentis (namely, th'Earle of Arrane, by whose credite the Kinge was runing a courfe that this ftate might not fuffer) from the Kinge, it was at laft thought expedient to let loofe, and turne downe the Lords banifhed and abidinge in London to the Borders.

But before they fhould goe downe, a partye was firft provided for them on the Borders, to ioyn with them, and fecret friends wrought for them in the court, againft they fhould come forward; the chiefe whereof was the Mafter of Gray, oppofite enemy to Arrane, and as great a fauourite of the King as he. Thefe thinges beinge rype, the Ambaffador retyreing himfelf at the infant, it fo fell out, that he aryving at Barwick the xvj of the laft moneth, the Lords were come down to the Borders the next day after.

The Lords, tearmed the Lords of the faction, or banifhed lords, were theife: th'Earles of Angus and Marre, the Mafter of Glamis, the Lordis of

<sup>1</sup> From the Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 224, fol. 260. This article will also be found in the Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. I. p. 129.

Arbroth, Paffley, Cambuskenneth and Dryborough, and others. The opposite were, th' Earles of Arrane, Montroffe, Crawford, Collonell Steward, Sir William Steward, Arranes brother, and the Lord of Downe, &c.

The first meetinge of the banished Lords together was at Kelfo within the middle Marches, and thence divided themselves thus: Angus and his company, the better to gather friends, went to Pebles, not farre from Edinburgh; Arbroth and his company went to Dumfreys, to ioyne with the Lord Maxwell, that had bene in armes all the summer before, for a particular against Johnston, the Kings Warden; and so being seuered, appointed for a generall rendezvous, or meeting-place, at Faulkirk, xij myles from Sterlinge, the laste of that moneth; where they met together, and were to the number of 8,000 horse and footemen.

Here all were like to fall in sonder by reason of the Lord Bodwells wauering.

The Master of Gray in this tyme was gone from the Courte to gather friends, and meant to surprize Saint Johnstone, being secretly friends for the Lords of the faction, but pretended to levy all that he did for the Kinge, that then purposed to make a rode upon the Lord Maxwell, commaunding all men from sixty to sixteen, to goe with him. All this tyme Arrane lay at his howse at Kenneil, so commaunded by the King vpon the suspicion of the Lord Ruffells slaughter; but vnderstandinge of Mr Wottons secret retyre, and the comeing of the banisht Lords, whome he tearmed rebellis, to the Borders, he repayed to the courte, enformeing the Kinge of all that he heard, persuaदेinge the Kinge that all this was done with the Master of Grayes privitie and knowledge; and therefore, desirous that the King should take his life from him, drew him for to send for the Master of Gray with diligence.

The Master beinge sent for, (he was then assemblinge his friends in the Fife shyre,) was doubtfull what to doe, beinge privily advertised that his life was fought for by Arrane; yet feareing least his absence should overthrowe the whole plot, and by giveing place to Arrane, hazard the cause, adventured and came to the Kinge, whome he found gracious, and beleived all that the Master had said in his purgacion; which when Arrane and his complices sawe, they determyned to kill him in the Kingis presence amongst themselves, or at the least within the castell.

But whilest they were thus occupied in court, word came that the Lordis

were marched and come within a mile of Sterlinge, which gaue Arrane and them cause to bethink themselves of defending the towne; and all the night, the first of November, with Montrosse and the rest, he watched on the walles himself in person.

The next morninge, the ij of November, the Lords marched towardes the towne, with purpose to scale the same. But Arrane, knoweing all this storme to be bent onely at his head, and suspectinge falsehood in fellowship, and his own desertes, with one man fled secretly out of the towne, over the bridge. The rest, seing him slip away, retyred all into the castell, where the King, and Master of Gray, and other secret frendis to the Lords were.

The towne thus abandoned made small resistance, but gaue entrance to the Lords, who forthwith made themselves masters thereof, by seazeing of the market place, and th' Earle of Marres house.

After the breakeinge into the towne, they went straight and sett vp their banners before the sparre of the castell, that was cramde full in a manner of great personages, with the King, some friendes, some enemyes.

The King the next morninge sends out the Secretary and Justice-clerk, to take assurances for such as should come to parle with them.

Which done, the Master of Gray was sent to them from the King, to demaund the cause of their comeinge; and after an houres commoninge returnes, and makes an honourable reporte of their dutifull submission and desire to see his Maiesty, and kisse his handis.

The King, retheyneinge a feare that Arrane had put him in of them, sent them word, that if they would haue their landis and liveings and departe, he would giue them all.

They insist still vpon entringe the castell to see his Maiestye, whose favour they fought more then their liveings. Whereat the King returning the Master againe to them, propounded three things to them; viz. the safety of his own person; no innovacion in the state; and the assurance of the liues of such as he should name.

They made answer, that for the Kinges person they neuer meant harme vnto it, but would dye in defence of it. They desired no innovacion. But for the third propoficion, seing they were the men that had for so longe a tyme bene iniured, they desired rather that for their suretye



hereafter, the persons, as they knew to be their enemies, might be delivered into their guard and hands, together with the forces and strengths of the realme.

About theis two pointes there was much adoe, and a day spent in debateinge: yet, at length, what with the want of victualles for so greate a number, the castell, together with the goodwill of the mediators necessitye, enforced to yield vnto it, and so were the gates opened, the Lords let in, and admitted to the Kinges presence.

The first thinge after their entry, was the deliury of the persons of Montrosse, Crawford, Rothes, (Earles,) Collonell Steward, Sir William Steward, the Lord of Downe, and others; Arrane beinge fled, as said is, before.

Immediatly after was Arrane proclaymed traytour at the marquet place, in the Kinges name. The Kinges guard altered, and in the afternoon of the same day, a pacification and remission proclaymed in the Lordes behalfe, all faultis forgiuen, and all thinges reputed as done for the Kings seruice.

The castell of Dumbritton assigned to Arbroth, the chiefe of the house of the Hamyltons, and of right Earle of Arrane. The castell of Edinburgh graunted to the keepeinge of Coldingknowes; and other strengthes to the rest, as Tomptallon to Angus; and Sterlinge to Marre, &c.

And thus hath the good successe in court fallen out, beinge well handled off all parties, which giueth hope to the Ministers to recouer their Sinode againe against the Bishops; and so to restore the discipline of the Church, if not better, at least as well as it was before Arranes gouernment.

#### THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, Albeit of late I wrote vnto you, yeat Robert Caruel, coming vnto me by your command, thought without lettre, for to knawe what was th'effect of this French Ambassadors negociating, I have instructed him at length. He is named Monsieur De Valle, sonne in lawe to Monsieur

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 244.

Pynart, and I think, by his addrese, for he is very young and litle thing in him, he hath for tutors, a secretary of his fathers in lawe, and the fellow Curfolles, that was secretary to Meluiffier in England, who hath disguised him self from Curfoles to De Preau, to the end he should not be knawen. Some think he is sent, (I meane, Curfolles), by the Kings mother, our Quene sometime. But how euer it be, they kepe therin as yeet very quiet, neuer a one of them fortés their lodging. He neuer hath craued audience but one day. All he disponit that day was his letters and some language. In his lettre off . . . . , there was a clause which offended the King, for it bare, that of ald Scotland esteemed of Fraunce as ther *bouclier et appuie contre tous venants*, and that the Kingis of Scotland were subiect vnto France. This fore offendid the King, and he gaue hard language. But the simplicity of the Ambassadour was remarked in it, for this letter was of date 10 October, and he had one more recent, wryten by the King since he was surely informed of the alteration heer, but he presented both without respect had of þe tyme. It was thought he had brought great somes of money; but it is not so. The effect of his negociation is to traffique with fondry of the nobility, rather then with the Kingis self; but he is a fimple soule. I remit the rest to Carvill. I am fully aduertiffed from Spayne þat there is great preparation made both of men and shippes, and some thereby . . . Ireland, as chiefly the Papistes of this contrey. Of this they are assured; but I am not of their opinion, that euer the King of Spayne will send money into Ireland: Well he may send some alwayes, it maks them of the relegeon prowder. What hath been of late here, I wrote vnto you of before. I pray you forget not my commendations to my Lord Leicester and Sir Philip Sidney. And craving that you reteeyne me in your good grace, I comit you to Godis holy protection. From the Court at Hal-lirudhouse this 29th of January, [1585].

Your loving freind to command,

*J. M. of Gray.*

THOMAS RANDOLPHE TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.<sup>1</sup>

RYGHT HONORABLE MY VERIE GOOD LORD, I receaued your Lordships letter the verie daye of my departeur towards Scotlande, concerninge the forces which your Lordship is desyerus to have owte of Scotlande; which letter gave me occasion some what to saye to have Mr Secretars opinion concerninge the same: which is, that yt please your Lordship that, immediatly vpon the receate of this my letter, to wryte your self a letter to the Master of Graye, requestinge hym, (as he hathe offered), to accepte the charge of so maynye as your Lordship dothe desyer from thens, with knowledge of th'intertaynmente to fiche person of charge, or gentleman of speciall note, that he shall bringe with hym. Bycause, also, that this requerethe monye to have them leviiede, and for their transportinge to the place where theye shall serue, that your Lordship wyll also wryte your mynde therin, that nothings shalbe dowed of or leaft in suspence at my comynge thythir, to be accomplyshed accordinge to your Lordships wyll and desyer.

I am also wylled to put your Lordship in mynde, that as the Master self wyll take this to be a greate honour, (as he proffesses), to serue vnder your Lordship, so hathe he wrytten hyther to Mr Archibalde; which letteris have byne seen by her Maiestie, and your Lordship made privie by Mr Secretarie to the same, from whom his Honour thoughte that he shilde have had answer before that tyme, and therefore nowe wyssethe that your Lordship wolde wryte vnto the Master of Graye self, bothe thankis for his willingenes, and the frendlye offer made vnto your Lordship, which, yf it be performed, the Kinge selfe muste be imbarcked in this action, (which is a thinge of no smale momente), for that yt cane not be done withowte the Kingis consent and allowance. Yt maye be that your Lordships letter maye be as sone in Scotlande as I; to whom, yf yt please your Lordship to sende your letteris, (as maynye tymes by fea your Lordship maye

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. art. 84, fol. 169.

do), I wishe that theye were directed vnto me, lodgynge at Mr Alexander Clerkis howse in Edenbourge. Mr Killegrewe knoweth the partie, and yf God sende me wyll thyther, ther shalbe no thinge leaſte be me vndon, that ether your Lordship shall commande, or my ſelf cane thynke, that may tende to the performance of that worthy and noble enterpryſe of your Lordships. As oft I maye, your Lordship shall heare from me, or Mr Harrie Killegrewe, whoſe hande yt maye pleaſe your Lordship to uſe, for ſome tymes ſparinge of your owne, or yt beinge buſyed in ſo maynye wayes as yt is. That your Lordship maye knowe ſome what of the preſent ſtate of Scotland, as nowe it is, I ſende your Lordship this incloſed. And ſo deſyeringe God to proſper your Lordships enterpriſe, and all wayes ſende you well to do, I hvmillye tayke my leave. At my howſe in London vpon St Peters hyll, the vijth of februarie, 1585.

Your Honour Lordship euer to commandes,

*as Tho. Randolphe*

To the right honorable my verie good  
Lorde, th'Erle of Leiceſter, Lord Go-  
vernour of the Lowe Countryes of  
Flanders.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, I haue ſent this gentleman my ſeruant to my Lord of Leiceſter, to knou his mynd, if he vil craue that men be leuiat furthe off this country for his ſeruice thair. I vrot of befor to your Honours ſelf, bot than I intendit only to haue maid voyage vithe ſum of my auin priuat friendis

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 73, fol. 148.

and seruandis, or a feu vther. Bot nou I vnderstand, by a letter vrottin from my Lord of Leiceſter to my Lord Embaſſadour for hir Maieſtie, that he is deſyrous for ſum troupes in quantitie, ſo that I did tak deliberation to know reſolutly quhat numbre his Lordſhip vil craue; for ether feu or many, I am aible to fournis them in verie ſchort tym. Bot meiteſt it is, ſum fitt man of his auin be ſent in this country for that effect, or than, that Mr Randolphe reſaue the chairge thair of. For particulair, I recomend to you and his Lordſhip ſelf vithe aſſurance of honourable dealing, and this I vil promeis no man ſhall ſerue vnder him quha cariethe a better mynd to hir Maieſties eſtet. Bot haue committit crediet in þis, and all vther thinges perin he hes to negotiat, to the berar quhom your Honour may crediet as my ſelf. I pray your Honour give him your aduylſe in this affair. Maiters heir goethe verie veil, and the league to take effect, albeit ſum ingrat ſtayers that haithe bein, *ſed remunerabuntur tandem mercede eorum*. The Embaſſadour and Mr Myllis vil informe your Honour ſoe lairgely of all thingis, that I vil hould my peace. Bot I ſhall aſſur you, in graice of God, in deſpyt of the Deuil, and all viſching the contrary, thingis ſhall not go vrong. Bot of this Mr Myllis and the berar vil informe your Honour at gryter lenthe, quhom I recommend to your accouſtumat courtaſie ſcheuit to me and all myn. Ve do not a little meruail at Mr Archibalds ſtay. The King is now in better diſpoſition towardis him than of leat. Nou, reſting to pray your Honour preſent to hir Maieſtie my heumble ſeruice, I leaue you in the protection of God Almychtie. Holyrood, 12 Feb. 1585.

Yours euer to be comandid vithe ſervice,

*PM of Gray.*

To the Right Honourable Sir Francis  
Valſingham, principall Secretarie to  
the Quenes Maieſtie of England.

THOMAS RANDOLPHE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

Vppon Saturday the xxvj<sup>th</sup> of February, I arrived at Edinburgh, and dined at North Berwick by the way with Mr Alexander Hume, sometimes servant to the Earle of Murray. By order from the Kinge, there mett me at Muffelborgh, the Justice Clerk,<sup>2</sup> accompanied with betwene 40 and 50 horse, with fondry gentlemen of the Kinges house. In Edinburgh I am lodged where your Honour was, the house being furnished with muche of the Kinges stufte, whether beeing conducted by the Justice Clerke. After his departure from me, I sent soone after Thomas Milles to the Secretary, desiring to knowe the Kinges pleasure for my repayre to his prefence. Monday in the afternoone was appointed for mine audience, and the Justice Clerke sent for me. At the court gate the Master of Glames met me, and so by them twoo I was broughte vnto the Kinges prefence, with whome I found the young Duke of Lennox, the Erles of Angusse, Marre, Bothuile, the Lordes Claude Hamilton, Herris and Seaton, the Master of Gray, and the Secretary,<sup>3</sup> and others. My dutie beeing done to the Kinge, and answere made to some questions that his Grace asked me of her Maiesties health, I deliuered her Highnes letter, which, when he had read, 'I finde,' sayeth he, 'a greate continuance of your mistresses good will towardes me, and I will not fayle to do the like.' Then declared I the cause and the effect of my comeinge. As the matters were of weight and importance, so founde I in his countenance some alteracion, tokens, as I tooke them, of his passions of his minde, as namely, when I spake of the death of the Lord Russel<sup>4</sup> I founde a shewe of sadnes; and speakinge of the league, he laughed almost openly, that such as

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 256, fol. 294. There is no date to this letter, but it appears to have been written on the 1st or 2d March 1585-6.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Lewis Ballenden of Auchnoll.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Francis Russel, eldest son of the Earl of Bedford, who was unfortunately slain in a Border fray by Ker of Farnihurst, July 27, 1585.

observed his countenance perceived that I spake of something to his liking. When I had ended my speache, his Grace sayeth thus vnto me, 'I must acknowledge myself so bounde to the Queene your mistres, as if she were my sifter; indeede better counsell and aduise I cannot receaue from any, and, God willing, I intend to followe it.' Theis wordes he spake openly in the hearing of all in the chamber. For that I did but shortlie runne over the matters I am to deale in, but reserved somewhat in store to haue the freer accessse vnto him hereafter, I prayed him to take the thinges I had spoken of but as shorte notes of that which I would, with his good leaue, more at large imparte vnto him. He liked well of the request, and gaue me leaue to come vnto him when and as often as I would. After this his Maiesty entreth into more private talke, and telleth me him self, that there was an Ambassadour out of France farre younger then myself; one that had never beene Ambassadour before, and that seemed not to knowe this countrey so well as I doe. I told him that if he came with that minde and affection, in deede that I did, at all times to doe his Maiestie and his countrey service, it was not to be respected howe young he was, but what minde he bare. 'I trowe,' said the King, 'it be well, but I haue not as yet dealt much with him.' I tooke occacion to speake of the house of Guise, that procured his comeinge hither. I spake of Holt the Jesuiste, and commended his Graces intention for the punishment of papistes, and such as latelie had heard masse. He answered me, after much talke thereabout, that he had but God only to serue, which he would endeavour to doe [to] the vttermoost of his power, and keepe amitie with her that had been so good vnto him. He told me him self that, within a day or twoo, a number of papistes, which had hearde masse, should be araigned, and the Lord Maxwells self. I commended his doinge therein, the cause beinge Godis, and the quietnes of his countrey, which he ought to defend, but hoped that he would take one example of the Queene my mistres, which is to ioine mercy with iustice. 'That (said he), is the best sacrifice to God. But,' sayeth he, 'I haue found this man stubborne in his opinion.' He told me of a goode likelihoode of agreement betwene him and the Ministers, for the orders of the Church, wherein, as I heare by others, he hath taken greate

paynes hime felf. Whilest I was thus in talke with him, espying in my hand her Maiesties private letter, curiouflic sealed and made vp, ‘ Good faith,’ (fayes he, smilinge), ‘ ye haue somethinge els for me.’ Whereat kissing the letter, I gaue it him, which he receaued with a merie countenance, and perusinge the sealing and direccion, (said he), ‘ I knowe this hand writt well ynough, but I cannot read it without a knife to open it:’ which when he had done, he tooke me some what aparte, and said vnto me, I promise vppon mine honour, her Maiesties desire in this letter shalbe performed: so, vnbuttoning his doublett, he putt the letter in his bosome. This done, I tooke my leaue, crauing a newe time for further declaracion of that which I had to say, which, he fayed, should be with in a day or twoo. I desired to knowe which of his Councell it would please him to meate for me to deale with in the matters of my charge. He answered, first with him felf. I comended vnto him the good service of such as his Grace had employed towardes my foueraigne, as the Master of Gray, the Justice Clerke, and Mr Keeth. He gaue her Maiestie thanckes for the honour that he had receaued in them. I not knowing the Secretary, he said he would make mine acquaintance with him; which yet is not done, neither haue I as yet fpoken with him, but expect, with in a day or twoo, to talke with him at my lodginge. Ere I departed I saluted all the Lordes in prefence, and so retiring was reconducted to my lodging by the Justice Clerke, Carmighell, and otheres. I finde the Justice Clerke well affected to the amitie, and furtherance of the league. He hath dealt openlie and plainlie with me in diuers matters, specially howe small accompte is made here of my French riual. He told me of the vnkindnes betwixt the Master of Gray and the Secretary, almost mortal. I told him that my coming was as well to take vpp debates generallie, as to treat of the league betwene theyre Maiesties; and that he liked well of.

Soone after my coming to my lodging, comes vnto me the Master of Gray. Many complementes passed betweene vs. He confesseth and speaketh much of the honour that he hath receaved of her Maiestie, promisinge to acknowledge the same to his lives end, offering his seruice with the formost for the furtherance of any cause I had in hand, specially



for the league, wherein he would doe his vttermoft to further it nowe to her Maiefties contentment, and maynteyne it hereafter for the quietnes of both countries.

He and [the] Iuftice Clerck doe affure me, that the Kinges handes are cleane from receauinge of any princes golde hitherto, though the offers haue been great and promifes large, to the which, through neceffitie, he will be brought to incline very shortlie, or from her Maieftie receaue fuch fupporte as in expectation hath beene long, and is nowe, looked for, according to the former promifes and fpeeches that haue beene made by fome from her Maiefty to him; and as theis twoo perfonages putt me in hope, and doe affure me, that that beeing done, there neither wilbe, nor can be, any thing to ftay the performance of the league. So haue the aduerfaries to the fame noe other thinge to alledge, but the vncerteinty therof, and long delays therein, whereas here it is prefently to be had. I leaue this to her Maiefties wifdome, and your Honours remembrance, what I haue to promife if the league take effecte. I befeech your Honour let me fpeake it merilie out of Terence, and make it you knowe as you pleafe, *Pecuniam in loco negligere, interdum maximum est lucrum*, and, *bis dat, qui cito dat*. But anfwere me not as the fame author fayeth, *ſententias loquitur carnifex*.

After the writinge of thus much, wherewith I purpoſed to end this letter, the Lord Claud Hamilton came vnto me, and in long ſpeache acknowledged all her Maiefties favour and benefites towards him, promiſing faithful ſeruice to her Maieſtie during his life, and any thing that lawfully he may doe for her. And this he deliuered in noe leſſe earneſtneſſe of wordes to me, then he had written before to Sir John Foſter. He promiſeth me that nothinge ſhalbe left vnperformed by him, or his, to accompliſh her Maieſties deſire and contentacion. After his Lordſhip was gonne, there came vnto me the Secretary. Much good time was ſpent betweene vs, who could exceede others in complementis and cunning ſpeeches. Much talk we had of his brother, and favours receaued in England; but hoped that his dealing ſhould tend to a better end, having that good place which he hath vnder his Maieſty, to the furtherance of all good offices of amitie betweene the countries. He concluded, that whatſoeuer wanted in his brother ſhould, to the vttermoſt of his power,

be performed by him, speciallie for the furtherance of the league nowe in hand. He desireth that, as the acquaintance is alreadie begunne betweene your Honour and him in letteris, that the same may be continued, and triall taken of him, what goodwill he beareth to her Maiesties seruice. Thus we ended in good termes, good wordes, and greate kindnes. Judge you of our heartes as ye finde vs.

After he was departed Mr Keethe came vnto me from the Kinge, as he said, who prayed me to write vnto her Maiestie in the favour of James Hudson, the Kinges seruant, who hath a sute vnto her Maiestie. What it is I knowe not, but he movid it vnto me with great earnestnes, as so comaunded from the King his maister, with a letter also to be deliuered vnto him. Thus much for this first dispatch, Sir. From Edinburgh.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHELY.<sup>1</sup>

MY LORD, amongst many courtaiffies I did refave from Mr Randolphe, hir Maiesteis Embassadour, the freindlie speachis, it pleasit you send me as of befor from Villiam Keythe, the Kingis late messinger, a letter from your Lordship. In recompence I shall honour you till I leve, and shall use your counsell, and euer shall continue to be, efter my moyens, a good instrument betuix the realmes and princes so long as I am present. Bot the treuthe is, I veirie to ly ydle at home, and, in grace of God, intendis to mak a voyag þis summer, vithe thre or four 1000 men, vitche shall tend to the veil of bothe the countryis: and becaus I maid first my offre to serue hir Maiestie and hir Lieutenant in þe Low Countryis, I vil abyd til I refave anfuere from my Lord of Leicefter; and if I go in þat service, it is verie treu it gainis þis point, þat it embarkis the King my Souveraine so agenst Spaine, that heir Jesuistes shall never have place to retir, it vil enter betuix Spaine and him in futch diffidence. And if I go not in þe voyag of the Low Countryis, than I must pray your Lordship to assist

<sup>1</sup> From the original among the Lansdowne MSS. in the Brit. Museum, No. 46, art. 58.

me, at hir Maiesteis handis, for help of sum schiping for my former distiny, and hir Maiestie shall knou that it shalbe verie proufitable for hir. eset. Bot I remit the particulars till I refaue ansuer from my Lord of Leicefter tuitching this uther propofed stait: presentlye vil tak leue in comitting your Lordship to Gods bliffit protection. Edinb. 2 Martii, 1586.

Your Lordships to do you service,

*J. M. of Gray.*

To the Right Honourable my Lord Bourghley,  
Highe Thesaurer of England.

THE MASTER OF GRAYES SPEACH TO THOMAS MILLS.<sup>1</sup>

GAUALION. How goes your French matters, and your iorney?

GRAY. As to my iorney, how euer matters goes, I haue resolued.

GA. But in case you goe not shortly, ye will not get leue to lift men.

GR. Why, and who shall impeach me?

GA. *Monsieur, Je parleray à vous librement comme de coustume.* The matters are purposed to be attempted vpon the ground, that once your Lordships selfe should haue bin a doer in, and therefore it is a question among them here, whether you be suffered to lift men or not; and once they were of opinion that you lifted men, and the King to haue seafed and stayed them to his vse.

GR. By God, as to staying of any pat I lift, they would be deceaued, for I would put them away by companies as I lifted.

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art 99, fol. 179, where this article is dated 10th April 1586. Thomas Mills seems to have come to Scotland in the suite of Mr Randolphe, the English ambassador.

GA. Then, but as touching the attempt, what ground has it, or for what purpose?

GR. For releuying the Queen of Scots.

GA. They will not prevaile in that, for how sone they enter England they will haue her head, and foe shall they want her alive.

GR. Nay, that is not the scoope; for albeit they mist of her, yet they cast their accompt pat can they once subuert the estate of England, and alter religion there, they make reckoning the King shall become Catholique incontinent.

GA. But how can this be done?

GR. They purpose to see and attempt the King in case he will doe any thing for his Mothers reliefe, if not, they shall attempt it notwithstanding. But it is hoped pat the King shall concurre with them.

GA. What here you for that?

GR. By God, the Kings owne word.

GA. I cannot beleue you, Sir.

GR. I assure you it is true, or ells the greatest counsellor in Scotland deceiues them.

GA. I trowe you meane pe Secretary. And knowes he of this matter?

GR. That doeth he. And farther I shall say this much, the French Ambassador, speaking with the King this other daye, sayes to him, pat he vnderstood of many matters propounded to his Maiestie of great thingis, but, would he giue him audience, he should lay greater matters in his lappe, and lay him out a readier and surer way then that he was borne in hand with. Quoth the King, 'when I see the same I shall answere you; for I wilbe glad of my aduantage when I see it.' 'Well,' quoth the Ambassadour, 'then I shall shew your Maiestie more within this moneth.' Besides G. Douglas hath brought with him a letter in cypher from the Duke of Guyse, and offred it him; but the King hath refused to receiue it till a time. He has brought also lettres to the Lord Clawd from the 2 bushoppes.

GA. But tell me, who are the hiters in this?

GR. The Duke of Guyse, Delbens, or de Mayne, Prince of Parma, or Duke of Sauoy, after credit taken with Guiuera.

GA. And where will they land?

Farrell sundry letters  
by noblemen to be sent  
into France.

GR. Between Humber and Tuede, in case they drawe their men out of Flanders.

GA. They haue forces in Flanders already pat they will sone call home?

GR. Then, that action failes to the aduantage of the Spaniard. If they abide, the realme will be the weaker, and this they accompt of to begin in September.

GA. To whome are the handling of these thingis committed here?

GR. To Hay and Dury, Jesuists of this country, and such as they trust; such as G. Douglas.

GA. But in all this I see a great difficulty; for it wilbe hard for them to land without a partie.

GR. The Papiests of England haue offered that, when euer they shall see a power landed, they wilbe xx<sup>m</sup> men. But ere it be affayed, they looke to see confusion among themselues, for I shall giue you my hand, if the Queene be not taken away yet ere Michelmas.

The Popes 20,000.

SIR, the Ambaffador brought with him 8000<sup>l</sup>, besides 2000<sup>l</sup> roleus. That the Secretary hath receaued money, and Kolinknows<sup>1</sup> 1000<sup>l</sup>. His suspitious speach to Leftrick,<sup>2</sup> that it should not be good aduise to the King to suffer his people to serue, out of his realme, anothers turne. At a second conference he made great difficulty to discouer the part of the Queene; but said they were halfe a dozen, nether Italien nor French, but rather Flemish, as he thought. Sir, ther names he knowes not, but pat they are already in England to doe the feat resolutely. There were but fix that knew their names and persons, viz. the Queen mother, Duke of Guyse, Prince of Parma, Paver Parsons, Paver Oland de Corayne, and Corfelles. The French Ambaffador knew not them, but is only acquainted with the purpose, nor the French King; that this Ambaffador was not sent by the King, but by the Queene mother and Monsieur de Guise. The Erle of Westmoreland was at Paris to haue come, but wanted filuer. The two men, with G. Douglas, landed at Yarmouth. Remember Barnabys tale of Arran at Stirling: to speak with the Jesuists Holt and Dury,

They purpose to outbid the Queen 40 thousand<sup>l</sup> pensions.

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Hume of Cowdenknowes.

<sup>2</sup> Logan of Restalrig.

or Hey, about the money, and what they vndertooke. The matter of Maxwell was a pollicy of them, but hindred them greatly. They haue sent for a part of the iij<sup>m</sup> 800<sup>l</sup> in deposit to be sent hether, and is attended here by the first opportunity in Jaques Meluins fregot of Deepe. The Masters opinion, to continewe diuision here amongst themselues, must be the best remedy to conteyne a partie and order quietnes in England.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, I finde that both you and I haue beene vnkindlie dealt withall, by the Lord Secretary of that realme, touchinge the reporte that I should aduertise him of an informacion receaved from you, that he shuld be an enemy to the league. I am forrie that the gentleman should deale so hardly with me, as either to make me an author of such an vntruth, or els to be so evill an instrument to breede discorde betweene persons of your qualities. Mr Douglas knoweth howe earnestly I desire that the late jealousies and vnkindnes grown betweene you might, by some good mediation, be accorded, and therefore can best cleare me in this behalf. I find both by Mr Randolphe and Mr Milles, howe honourable and carefullie you ymploye your credite in furtherance of the intended league, as one that forfeeth the publique benefite, that may growe thereby, to both oure Soueraignes and theire kingdomes; which course, I doubt not, but you will continue, vntill the league be fynished and performed in such forte as, by all honest well affected subiectes and seruantes, is desired. What I haue done, touchinge the levie for the Lowe Countries, you shall vnderstand by Mr Archibald and Mr Tyrie, who are bothe departed hence. And so, Sir.

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 100, fol. 180. From the original minute in Secretary Walsingham's handwriting, dated 13th April 1586.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

MY HUMBLE DEUTY REMEMBERIT, as I writ onto your Honour from Berwik, that the reportis that I had herd theyr wer so manye and so contrarious, that I culd not affirm any of them be lettir, onto such tym as I had bettir exemenit the reportis, and the occasion moving the reportis there-onto; so that I saw convenient to stay the sending of the sayde lettir, onto such tyme as fordur mater mycht occurre.

I arryvit at my Lord Ambaffadouris lodging in Edinburgh vpoun the xxvij herof at nycht. Vpoun the morrou in the morning, the Master of Gray com onto me, and declarit how he had agrit vyth Secretary Maytland, at my desyre as he alledgit, and that the Secretayr was now redde to do all that I wuld desyre him to do, that mycht serue for my veilfayr. When, as we wer talking, the sayde Secretayr fend onto me the Provost of Lynclauding, declaring that he wes aggrit vyth the Master of Gray, bot he culd not tak it in gud part that I had forgottin the grit frendshipp betwixt his broder and me, and the not making him acquainted vyth my intering in Scotland; as onto him he onderstode nothing, quhill of layt that he onderstode I was to be at Bervik, wher he had fend his kynfman to vesit me; and that the King had declarit onto him, at his going to Falkland, that I was to be in Edinburgh one of these two dayis, and had villit him to desyre me to haif patience at the Ambaffadours lodging to his returning, which shuld be verray shortlye, at which tym I shuld knau his Maiesties fordur pleasur. I scho him that I ressevit his Maiesties derection, and his aduis, in gud part. Thaireftir the Master openit onto me a longe discourfe, the stat of the cuntry, and all the particularities, viz. such, as the Ambaffador, be feveral letters, had mayd craving onto your Honour of befor, vyth this addition, that the Secretary his gritnes vyth the Kinge did confes, in this, that he had sett down certayn plattis onto

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 114, fol. 197.

the King, how he mycht preserve his stayt in obedience, and be in estimation and credit vyth foryn princis; and because the end of these platts caryit vyth thaym certayn protraction of tyme, he thoht it wold be harde to move the Kinge in his contrar, vnto such tyme as he mytht know the fynale furetes, or than mytht onderstand sum vther bettir meanis how he mytht atteyn to the sam. And as to the particular of the plattis, he culd not parfitly declayr thaym, but he schaw me that the Kinge vas werray earnest to heir me speik of theise matteris, and vas affurit that he wald oppen thym onto me his self, aftir that he had once spokin vyth me. His Maiefty retornit from Falkland this Fryday, and vent to Dalkeyth, whear he sithyn remains. The Master of Gray vas fend for to come to him. He thoht it ves to conferr vyth him vpoun the maner how I mytht speik vyth his Maieftie. This is all that they vyll towartis my pryvat state. As towartis my opine in the publick of this realm, I must crave that I writ not at larg theyrof, onto such tyme as I haif spokin with his Maieftie, and vtheris gydarris of the Court, that offeris me grit frendshipp, which I shall wythin two or thre dayis after the dayt hereof.

The Master of Gray hath, vpon ouerturis mayde to him, that it vas metest that he shuld deall vyth marchantis that ar in this realme, quhose substance is not verray grit, that he vilbe able to leuvy ten thowfand French crownis, for the raising and transporting of the saydis forces, providing that he may know quha shal pay the saydes marchantis, ather at London or Holland. He affirms that he vill haive forces in redines vpon sex veukis efter that he shall reffeue commandiment for levying of theym. The hole capitains, and one gud part of them foddartes, ar such as hath servit of before in the Low Country. Bycawis that vyth expeditioun the King may heir ather from her Maieftie, or from my Lord of Leyfter, for desiring or craving of such forces as ar neydful, he affirms that he can leavy what nombre you shall please demand, onder ten thowfand, but the nombre that he presentlye intendis to haife in reddines are thre thousand footmen, and tuo companyes of horsmen. Of this mater, vythin tuo or thre dayis I think, he shall write at gretar lenth onto your Honour, which he cannot presently do, because he is in dealing vyth the King, and to be heir the morrow in the morning. In this midft tyme I hafe takin the



boldnes to certefy this farre, for anfwering of your Honoris lettre that I reffavit this xxix of April, onto fuch as I may moyr certaynly vryt of all matteris, which I think fhallbe shortly: And fo leaving fordar to trouble your Honor, I humblye take my lefe: ffrom Edinburgh the xxix forfaid.

Your Honoris moft  
humble to command vyl prov it,

*A Douglas*

To the right honorable Sir Francis  
Walsingham Knight, principal  
Secretary to her Maieftie.

After the ending of this lettir, I reffevit an lettir from the Master of Gray, declaring that the King his pleafure is to fpeik with me at his houle on Monday next.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

THE Kinge would rather that hir Maieftie demaunded the feruice of his fubiects, then himfelfe to offer the fame, becaufe he hath fo long deferred the making of the faid offer.

Money cannot be had by exchange.

He canne within fix weekes, or one moneth, prefent 6000 choice men, and well led together: Defireth haft to be vfed in the matter, and that the firft courfe may ftande, which was refolued on before Mr Douglas his departure.

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 116, fol. 200. This article is titled an 'Abstract' from the original letter, which appears, from an entry on the margin of the manuscript, to have been dated on the 5th May 1586.

The Kinge wilbe very constant, after he is once entered into the action.

To assure my Lord of Leycester that he will bring no leader ouer with him that is not well affected, howfoeuer some of them haue bine otherwise reported of.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

MY MOST HONOURED BROTHER, If these few words expresse unto you the assuredness of my constant affection, they shall have performed the chief cause of my present sending unto you. And therein I pray you believe me, for while I live I will not fail you. My Lord<sup>2</sup> is exceedingly desirous to have your presence here; but, by reason there is not yet so full an established authority as there should, the means come in so slowly, as, in good faith, I know not whether I should wish the coming of so dear a friend or no. This gentleman, the Conservator of your nation in Camphreer, understands the nature of things as well as ourselves, and therefore he can plainly make you know what the estate both is in effect, and yet might be, if the Government were more soundly grounded. I have no more to trouble you, but to pray you for my sake to make much account of this gentleman, for I have found him my very friend: And which is the last, or rather the first point, hold me, I beseech you, in the gracious remembrance of your King, whom indeed I love. And so I take my leave, and leave you to the blessed protection of the Almighty.

Your faithful brother to do you service,

P. SIDNEY.

From the Camp before Numegen, this 17th  
of May, 1586.

My most honoured the Master of Grey.

<sup>1</sup> From *Murdin's State Papers*, p. 557.

<sup>2</sup> Earl of Leicester.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

THERE is, since the time of Mr Archibald Douglas departure hence, fallen out some change in her Maiesties resolucion, touching the manner howe she will vse my Lord of Leicesters seruice in the Lowe Countries; whereuppon the matter of your employment vnder him dependeth. For albeit her Maiestie was then content his Lordship should there exercise such power and authoritie as the States had there cast vpon him, bycause it appeared to be both for the weale of the countrey and furtherance of her seruice, yet hath she nowe, through the practise and secreet workinge of some ill instruments that fauour the Spanish proceedings, and seeke, by all meanes, to thwarte and disgrace my Lord of Leicester, cleane altered her former purpose and disposicion in that behalf. By meanes wherof, my Lord of Leicester is consequentlie forced to change his determinacion for the calling of you into his companie, whereof, I knowe, he would haue receaued great comforte, beeing very loathe so much as to encourage you to come to that seruice, where he cannot yeald you that enterteynement and satisfaccion that may be answerable to your desert and liking, and to his owne desire. For, where before his authoritie reached to the redressing of the confusion in gouernment, and orderly disposing of the contribucions to the vse of the due paying of the martiall men, which authoritie the Prince of Orange never enjoyed in such ample manner, whereof ensued so great disorders and inconveniences in the course of their proceedings, by meanes whereof he might haue beene hable to haue provided for you and your company as apperteyneth; nowe that authoritie and comandement ceasing, whereby the wonted confusion will growe againe in the gouernment, and the States are likelie to convert the most parte of the said contribucions to their owne

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 215. From the original minute in Secretary Walsingham's handwriting, dated 24th May 1586.

private comoditie, as they did before, as his Lordship must of necessitie want meanes to geue you that interteinement that you may in reason looke for, which would be both a touche to himselfe in honour, and (to your owne noe small grief and discredite) worke the mislike towardis you of such gentlemen captains and foldiers as should attend vpon you, who, seeing themselues frustrate of their expectacions, and reduced, perhaps, to haue termes, would doubtles wishe they had never seene you; the inconvenience whereof to your self, I doubt not but that you will so depely waye in your owne iudgment, as you will rather choose to susteyne at the first some litle touch, that this breaking of may be to your reputacion, then to put yourself in hazzard of a further disgrace, since it doth so vn-towardly fall out that thinges do not take a better course. For, to be playne with you, my Lord of Leicester findeth himself so farr thwarted and discomforted in the seruice, that he is now become an humble sutor for his revocation, as you may further perceau by the copie of his owne letteris, wherewith Mr Randolph shall, for your better satisfaccion, make you acquainted, to whose reporte I referre you.

I finde by Mr Randolph, the Kinge your Soueraignes dislike in that neether the sune promised was performed in so large measure as was looked for, nor the instrument of security sent in such forme as was to your said Soueraignes liking, was, through your earnest and careful travaile, qualified in such sorte, as he was both content to accept the sune sent, as also that the treatie proceede to his full conclusion. Theise good offices done by you to the mutuall benifit of both Crownes, I hope will never be forgotten on our parte. I will not fayle, according to your earnest desire, to doe my best indeuour to procure that satisfaccion may be yealded to the King your soueraigne in both theis pointes, whose constant and princelie manner of dealinge in this cause hath wrought a very good conceipt in all goode mens hartes here towardes him, (who before had but a iealous opinion of him). I doe assure you that, as there are diuers there that mislike of the proceedings of this treatie, so lack there not here men apt to hinder so good a work, that haue fought malitiouly to revive former conceaued iealousies of onfoud proceedinge here. It will, therefore, behoue well affected men, both here and there, to carrie a watch-

ful eie, in preventing the mallice of fuch malignant spirites. And fo Sir.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO MR RANDOLPHE.<sup>1</sup>

WHEREAS you did, by your letteris, write vnto me that, if th'intended imployment of the Master of Gray in the Lowe Countries goe not forward, it will be a great toucheing in credite to him. For my owne parte I assure you that none can be more sorrie for it then my self, as well for the good will I doe particularly beare to the Master of Gray, who hath deserved so well, as in respect of the cause whereof this change proceedeth, which is, in effect, that though her Maiestie was content, at the time of Mr Douglas his departure, that my Lord of Leicester should reteyne still his authoritie and charge of gouernment laid vpon him by the States, in case it should appeare that he could not relinquishe the same without preiudice to the cause, and hinderance of her seruice, yet hath she since taken another course of resolucion, by the practise and perfwacions of such as are addicted to Spayne, and vnfriendlie to my Lord of Leicester; who, by such meanes, wanting nowe that credite and authoritie that he had to redresse the confusion of gouernment, and dispose of the contribucions for the maintenance of the warre, hath, in reason, iust cause not to drawe a gentleman of the Master of Grayes desert and qualitie to that seruice, where he should not be able to yeald him that enter-tenment and satisfaccion that apperteyneth; which would found greatlie to his owne dishonour, and purchase to the Master the ill will and harme of as many as he should carry with him, when they should finde them selues in misery and voyd of all comforte. For my Lord findeth him self so discountenanced, crossed, and disgraced in the seruice, by the practise of ill instrumentis, that he is wearie him self of his continuance there, and sueth earnestlie to be called home againe. So far is he from

<sup>1</sup> From the original Minute in Secretary Walsingham's handwriting, dated 24th May 1586, Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 215.

doing the Master of Gray that wrong, as to encourage him to come to him at such an unseasonable time, as you may perceive by the copie of his owne letteris, which I send you, as well ffor your owne satisfaccion, as to th'end you may be the better able to answere the Master, vnto whom you may also shewe so much of the said copie as you shall think good; whereby he may the more plainlie perceive that theis allegacions are true, letting him with all vnderstand, that howsoever this breaking of may, in some forte, be a touch to him in credite and reputacion, having already waded so far into the action as he had done, yet he can, in his owne iudgement and discrecion, consider that it were better to break of at the first, then to hazzard further discredite and inconvenience, when those that shall serve vnder him may be reduced to such want and extremitie, as they will, perhaps, curse the time that ever they knewe him, to his owne infinite greife and disgrace.

Her Maiestie findeth by the contentes, as well of your letteris as of the Kings owne, that he resteth not yet fully satisfied in two pointes; the one, touching the sume of the Pencion, and the other for the Instrument. For the money, her Maiestie standeth very harde still to it, and yet my Lord Treasourer and my self have both dealt very earnestlie with her in the cause, but with such successe as we can neether hope nor dispayre that she will yealde to our advise. For th'other pointe, though her Maiesty conceived that her owne letter would haue sufficed, yet will she not stick, as I suppose, to yeald the King satisfaccion of some such like instrument. For your manner of proceeding, touching the deliury of the Carres that stand charged with the murder of the Lord Russell, and the successe you haue had therein, her Maiestie resteth very well satisfied with all the resolucions of the persons of the Comissioners, and the time of their meeting with th'other is not yet certain, but I thynke the former choyce of my Lord of Rutland, my Lord Evers, and your self, and the appointment of the firste of July, will stand. I haue moved her Maiestie, aswell for the yeomen prickers, and groomes of the lease, as for horses and geldings of the King, but can yet drawe noe resolucion from her in it, which is as harde to be had, even in theis trifles, as in matters of great importance.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, the malitious opposition and practife of Mr Archebalds enemies hath made his iustificacion the more cleere, for that otherwise it would haue bin giuen out, by such as stand ill affected towards him, that the Kings fauor wrought by frends had preuailed more in furtherance of his iustificacion, then his owne innocencie. And yet the world seeth that he must confesse, that, if he had not had foe honorable and constant a frend as your selfe, the mallice of his enemies might haue preuayled foe farforth as to haue oppressed his innocencie; and for that I doe professe my selfe to be one, (in respect of the loue I beare him), that is interessed in his fortune, I cannot but most hartely thanke you for your good friendship shewed vnto him, in a case pat foe greatly imported him, whome, I doubt not, but you shall find towards you a most constant and thankefull gentleman, as well for the same, as fondry other fauors shewed vnto him. Touching your employment in the Lowe Countries, though the Earle of Leyster hath of late by his letteris revyued some newe hope in you, I can noe wayes encourage you therevnto, for the respectis conteyned in my last letteris, and yet you shall doe well to gratefie the Earle foe farre forth as to send vnto him the troopes by him desired, if the King your Soueraigne shall vnderhand permitt the same. And as for yourselfe, if you will giue me leaue to be foe curious with you in your owne particular, I could aduise you to spend the rest of the fomer in those countries in priuat fort, in company of Sir Phillip Sidney, who, I knowe, will vse you as his owne brother, besides the experience that you shall gett, (which will be farre greater then if you were tied to a publike charge). You shall, before you enter into any charge, first acquaint yourselfe with the state of those countries, the manner of the seruice, the disposition of the people, the entertainment and vsage of such as serue vnder them, the

<sup>1</sup>. From the original Minute, dated 4th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 61, fol. 128.

meanes that they haue for the continuance of the warres, and lastly, what wilbe our resolucion here, for the mayntenance of the Earles authoritie in such absolute forte as was yealded vnto him by the Stats, whervpon cheefly dependeth the good or bad succeffe of the cause; for, without the continuance of the said authoritie, the former confusion takeing place þat was there before, his repaire hether will worke their vtter ouerthrowe. I haue, according to your request, recomended Captaine Hagerfton, both vnto the Earle and to Sir Phillip Sidney, and I doubt not, (notwithstanding former informacions giuen against him), þat he shall receiue all honorable vsage at their hands for your sake. Sorie I am to vnderstand by you, that the late banisht Noblemen of that realme doe carrie them selues foe weakely since their returne, as to suffer them selues to be abused by those who haue fought their ruine. Surely, Sir, the Kings dispensacion with Arrens departure will reuiue some vnnecessarie iealousies here. I could wish therefore he would ether of himfelfe, or were aduised by others, to take some such course herein as might minister noe cause of scandall. At the Court.

#### MEMORIAL CONCERNING A TREATY WITH SCOTLAND.<sup>1</sup>

SCOTIA, JUNII 1586.

##### *Memorial for Scotland.*

THAT her Maiestie subscribe the articles of the League to be sent vnto the King.

IN this point I mistrust þe Secretary wilbe curious, and take aduantage to cauell.

THAT her Maiestie satisfie him touching the instrument for the affurance of the pension yerely hereafter, title, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 61, fol. 128. From the circumstance of the hand-writing in the two columns being different, it is probable that this is the original Memorial. The first column appears to be the answers for Queen Elizabeth to the proposals in behalf of King James.



See his remembrances sent by me to your Honour. Her Maiesties promise being 20,000l English, it will be dangerous to send less, specially for the first time, seeing the evil affected minds about the King, and that so much is expected.

That I may carry the certain resolution hereof with me.

The Lord Treasurers letter to be Master.

Vpon the assurance of these 2 men depends all her Maiesties part in Scotland and the continuance of the league; but above all men loose not be Master.

Because of the extreme charges he is at, his want to hold it long out, and his own infirmities of body.

That for this first time the whole year's pension may be sent at once, as the King's self desireth.

That her Maiestie name her Commissioners, appoint the time and place of meeting out of hand, as the King desireth for many causes. That the like may be there also appointed of equal degree and qualities.

Her Maiesties letters of her own hand	{	To the King.
		To the Master of Gray.
		To the Lord Hamilton.
Your Honors letters of your own hand	{	To the Master of Gray.
		To the Secretary.
		To Barnaby M <sup>c</sup> Golegan.

That special regard be had of the Master of Gray and Lord Hamilton, the Secretary, Robert Cunningham, and Coldingknowes, with others, as Farret, Colvin, &c.

That against the time of the Commissioners meeting, Mr Randolph may have leave to retire to Barwicke, and there attend their coming, and her Maiesties further pleasure.

The cheefest point of all.

Laftly, to aduife vpon the deliuery of the mony, what way is to be taken for þe affurance of the King, and fuche about him as may hold him at her Maiefties deuotion.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPHE.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, Whereas in the Articles of the Treaty subscribed by their Maiefties, it is specially ordred in the 9th article therof, that the Princes fhall fend their Commiffioners, within 6 moneths after the ratificacion of the League, to here and determine of fuch iniuries and controuerfies as haue growne on the Borders fince this Kings gouernment; bycaufe it is intended that the fame fhall now be done at this meeting of Commiffioners, in reducing of thofe articles into the forme of other treaties, that 9th article is purpofely left out and omitted, as needleffe and impertinent to be inferted into the League. And to the end there may be noe obftacle or hinderance in the feruice, by reason of any defect in the Commiffion of ether fide, I fend you herin inclofed the coppie of her Maiefties Commiffion, which I wifh you fhould fhewe, that they there may be furnifhed with the like from þat King, and that they may accomplifh the contentis of the 9th article prefently; foe that thefe extraordinary caufes being compounded, the ordinary courfe of iuftice may proceed, by the frequent meeting of the Wardens of each Borders, to the reciproque comfort of the fubjects of both Realmes. And to the end the Commiffioners may not fpend long time in this treaty, to their owne chargis and the chargis of the princes from whome they are fent, it hath bein thought meete þat the Treaty fhould be reduced into fome forme, and deliuered vnto the Earle of Rutland and the Lord Eure, wherof I fend you a coppie, which you may communicate, if you fhall foe think good, vnto the Secretary there; which, conteyning the true fubftance of the articles, it is conceiued here, that they will not diflike of; but if they fhould diflike of, it were good that you and I,

<sup>1</sup> From a copy, dated 5th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 61, fol. 128.

before the meeting, by our mutual letteris should confider therof, and take some courfe for the remouing of the difficulties. From the Court.

This laft night, fondry of the Bells, Carelells, Kirkpatrickes, and other Scottifhmen, to the number of 100 perfons or aboue, haue come into England, burnt vpon the water of Efke to the number of 80 houfes (as I am informed), taken away about a 100 head of nolte, and 40 nags, with a greate bootie of infight and other goods from her Maiefties fubiects in England, thus burned by them.

Postfcript—Three dayes after, viz. the viij<sup>th</sup> of June, was the letter written for the addition to be made in the preface of the Treaty, and the ix<sup>th</sup> article thereof.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

Vpon the receipt of your Honours laft letteris, I am nowe in dealing with the Mafter of Gray to reduce his unquiet ftate, through involving of himfelf in exceffive chardges and trouble of minde, to compaffe with his honour this intended voyage to the Lowe Countries, to fome more quiet ftay, by moving of him to be contented to remayne at home with his frends about the King, and in his accuftomed credite. But trulie, if her Maieftie, or fome other, fhall not confider of his loffe receaving by entertayning of captaines, and levying of foldiers, wherof fome number hath receaved money, I thinck he fhallbe vtterly vndone.

Yf it fhall ftand with her Maiefties pleafure, that he should accept a comiffion vppon him, ioyned with myfelf, who is like to be deftinate to doe the ceremony for obferuing of this league, I thinck it should doe him greate good many wayes, hereuppon, I pray you, let me have your Honours oppinion with as great fpeede as you fhall thinck meete.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is an extract from a letter of the 9th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. art. 138, fol. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Randolphe, the English Ambassador, also writes (5th August 1586): 'Touchynge the Mafter of Grays aboade here, and staye of his jorneye, I have dealte with hym so earnestlie as I maye. Kerr, this gentleman, is sente agayne from him. Your Honour shall receave

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO THOMAS RANDOLPHE.<sup>1</sup>

I PERCEAUE the Queen and my Lord of Leftors desireth I should continue my choise for the leuie of men for Flanders. I am as willing as at any time before, but, as I wrote to your Lordship, of late I should see the matter tend to such delay, that, before God, I was altogether desperate of it, and began with the King an other course; so pat if now I should slide in where I was, except it proceed from some other, he shall thinke it in mee a note of inconstancie. Therefore, I pray you, that her Maiestie will doe that curtesie for me, to craue it of the Kinge, and I shall be ready with all expedition, for I desire the purpose for many respects. From Dunfermling.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.<sup>2</sup>

PLEASE YOUR HONOUR, Since my last vnto you, it hath pleased his Maiefty, my foueraigne, who was in the partes of Fife at my arrivall to Edinburgh, to appoint the Master of Gray his lodging there for admiffion of me to his prefence, which was vppon the fflowerth of May, where the Nobilitie, and such of the Councell as was present, receaved the bannkett. Before the King came in the house, the Secretarie had some conference with me in a private chamber, where he affirmed the Lordes vnderstood

his owne answer. The gentleman is greatly perplexed; his charges have byne greate; he hath borrowede greate sommes of monye; divers compaynies of soldiers all reddie, and the drume daylye soundinge to leaue greate numbers, and hath the Kings lycens vnder the greate seale; all which I have seen and hearde, but leave yt vnto your Honour to iudge therof as yow thinke good, not willinge, I am sure, to drive so good a frend and servant to that inconvenient that he shall foreuer loos bothe honour and credit, and foreuer lyve with shame.' Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. art 196.

<sup>1</sup> From a copy, bearing date 19th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 235.

<sup>2</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art 119, fol. 203.

I was lodged to their greif, ffor that they were not made acquainted with my returne in Scotland, but that the same was done only by the King; and, therefore, they suspected that I had some secret course with him that might tend to their hurte. I assured him I meant no harme to no Scotteshman; but my coming home tended to this end, that I might be disburdened of the heavy sclander wherewith I had beane charged; and for this effect I would seeke both his Lordship and their favourable assistance when any occasion should be offered. After some propose of complement, he prayed that their might be playne dealing betwixt him and me, vppon knowledge therof he would assure me of his friendship in all matters that might touche me. I promised honest and playne dealing, so as he would assure me of the like. When as we were speaking, aduertisement was made that the King was coming, and comaunded that noe man should remayne in the chamber. After whose entrey some speeches beeing vttered by me, in comendacions of his humanitie, that so far had humbled him self as to come where one of the meanest of his subiectes was prisoner, I deliuered hir Maiesties lettre, which beeing read, he vttered theis or the like speeches:—‘At your departure I was your enemy, and nowe, at your returning, I am and shall be your friend. You are not ignorant what the lawes of the realme are, and what best may agree with my honour to be done for your suretie. I must confesse her Maiesties request in your favours to be honourable and favourable, and your desire to haue triall by assese to be honest; and I my self doe beleue that you are innocent of my Fathers murther, excepte in foreknowledge and concealing: a fault so comon in theis daies, that noe man of any dealing could misknowe, and yet so perillous to be revealed, in respect of all the actors of that tragedie, that noe man, without extreme danger, could vtter any speache therof, bycause they did see it, and could not amend it. And therefore, I will impute vnto you, neither foreknowledge, neither concealinge, and desire that you may aduise with my Secretarie what way may be most agreeable to my honour and your suretie in triall, and it shall be performed.’ After that I had giuen thanks vnto his Maiestie, I could not forbear to let his Highnes vnderstand that it did appeare to me, that whatsoeuer it should be done in my favour were best to be

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done at her Maiesties request; to the which he yealded. Thereafter he said to me, ' You haue nowe bene long in England, and hath, as I am informed, knowne her Maiesties meaning towards the title that I pretend to that crowne, when it shall please God to leaue that place vacant, and in like manner doth vnderstand the disposition of the mindes of her Highnes Councell therein, I desire you free lie deliuer vnto me what inclination you finde in them to my welfare in this matter.'

My answere was, that it was very true that I had bene long in England, and therefore necessary it would be for me, if I should trulie answere to his Maiesties question, to make diuision of the time of my abode, and to let his Maiestie vnderstand what opinion was had at every season or time that mutacion in gouernment had occurred in his owne realme, which was euer conceaved in opinion according to the nature or qualitie of the mutacion that happned to fall out. It pleased his Maiestie to vse some interrupcion ere he heard any further, and said, ' I knowe what you meane; you would lett me vnderstand that I am burdened and slandered for other men their dealinges. When matters shalbe well determined, my meaning shalbe, at all times, founde to be constant and friendlie towards her Maiestie. And of this parte I can take your self to record what hath bene my inward minde towards her Maiestie, ever since that time I directed the Master of Gray towards her Highnes, who hath since his returning at all times assured vnto me that I was mett with the like good minde, and if that be true, you are able to lett me vnderstand it.' I answered, that I well vnderstood that the Master of Gray had done the dutie of a trustie servant, and had done many good offices there, speciallie in removing of many doubtles that had receaved deepe impreffions, aswell in her Maiesties minde, as in the mindes of the best forte of that realme; which doubtles were growing vpon some ill proceedinges and wrong informacion geuen out to his Highnes defadvantage: who were the reporters I knowe not, but the reportes were geuen out in all partes. He said, he did well vnderstand that he was calumniated by seditious men that he had made deffertion in religion; that he was blood thirsty; that he was inconstant in friendship, and vntrue in keeping of promese. But he tooke God to his witnes, how vntruly he was slandered in these pointes, by his indefcreete

preachers and unnaturall subiects, that he beleevd noe prince would allowe of, and speciallie her Maiestie beeing a prince subiect to the like slander her self, if she should permitt unbridled subiects to speake their pleasure of their naturall Prince. My answere was, that her Maiestie was not a little greeved to hear, that any subiect durst presume to speake any matter of their prince, and often times had been moved besides modesty in geving comande, that insolency in speaking against whatsoever prince should be restrained; but speciallie had geven direction that no imodeest minester should be tollerated to preach, lest they might haue used some vndecent speach, which she would haue noe wise left unpunished, if it had beene againste his Maiestie. But of late all matters was reduced in such state, that might concerne his Maiestie in that realme, that noe man durst vtter any such speach as heretofore had beene spoken of. And if any should be so foolish, they would not fayle without delay to receaue punishment; and great expectacion was had thereof of late, that he would not alter the course he had begunne, neether exceed the boundes of reason, for any man his pleasure. After some speach of my Lord Treasurer and your Honour, in asking of your opinions of himself, and that I had fullie satisfied him thereagenst, he entred in some speache of the late Chauncelor, and of Colonell Stewart, alleadging him to be a simple bodie, (so he termed him), and was ready to departe out of this realme, and the other was alreadie departed, either to Ireland or some other place; so that he had left nothing vndone that had beene craved of him, excepting against some certen rebellious Englishmen, that had beene heretofore required, and the satisfaccion of her Highnes in honour, towardis the murther, which he with all his heart lamented, of Sir Frances Russell, against the Jesuites, so he did terme the rebels; as God should be his Judge, he knewe not presentlie where they were, but he would expell them his realme, and would make certificacion to all such as had kept them, if they were found to be in the realme, he would deliver them. And to such as were suspected of that lamentable murther, he would leave nothing vndone that might satisfie her Maiestie, so that the same might not bring him in disgrace of his subjects, which he beleevd her Maiestie noe wise desired; and if any contravenors of his intencion should be found within his realme,

he was minded to invade them, and would ere nowe have performed the same, yf his owne realme had beene reduced to a quiet state; which he should shortlye see performed, if her Maiestie would assist him. I did answere, that I firmelie beleevd her Maiestie would leaue nothing vndone that could be required in friendship, providing that he made her acquainted with his proceedinges, and founded his desire vpon reason. Besides this, I thought her Maiestie would be offended, if she should not be made acquainted that he stood in neede of any her assistance for the weale of his realme. It pleased his Maiestie to answere, That he had made noe creature acquainted with his meaning in that matter, but he spake it vnto me by way of discourse, which some day he thought to performe, to giue testimony of his good meaning. Finding him in so good termes, I said that there was divers of his frendes that mervayled, he beeing a Prince of so great expectacion, and in the age wherein courage was accustomable knowen rather by action than by speaking, that he made not offer to her Maiestie of sending his subiects in the Lowe Countrie, and thought also that it was not decent for his age to be idle, whenas her Maiestie and remanent Princes were in armes. Vpon this he entred in a long discourse, that I perceaved had beene putt into his head, of the difference betwixt offending and defending. To which both he confessed him self to be bound in divers degrees, and to offend alone such as would offend her Maiesties person or state; and for his owne parte, albeit he had divers times enquired if her Maiestie did esteeme the King of Spayne her enemye, he never could receaue directe answere there vpon; and notwithstanding therof, if he could be assured her Maiestie would esteeme that worthy of thanks, he would make offer of forces, in proporcion lesse or more, as he should knowe to be expedient for the service, and would excuse himself that he had so long delayed the doing therof. This is the some of all matters that had passed by his Maiestie at that time, when as the Master of Gray came to the chamber, and showed the King that the Lordes were inquiring for what was become of him, thereafter the King said to me, ' I can tarrie me no longer at this tyme; of this farre assure your self, that I will doe all that may serue to your contentment for your private surety, and within fewe dais will speeke further with you. In this mean



time, you may assure such of your frendes as are in England of the sinceritie of my meaninge, and of the performance of such matter as heretofore I haue promised to her Maiesties Ambassadour.'

Ymediately after the King was retired, Secretarie Maitland returned where I was, and said, he knewe the King was put to great expectation that I would satisfie his minde in diuers matters he remayned doubtful. For his owne parte, he would be most glad that I might so doe, but beleued, by reason the time was so shorte that I was with the King, that there did remayne somewhat more to be spoken vnto his Maiestie, which he would be glad to vnderstand, and would endeavour him self to do all the good offices he could, both in my private state, and in any matter that might tend to the welfare of both the Crownes. After the geving of thanks, I shewed him that I had nothing wherein to deale with the King, untill such time as I had receaued my triall, and for the obteyning therof I prayed his frendship. He made answere, that he could be frend for him self; but he beleued that the Lordes, that was of late come out of England, had conceaued some suspicion of my coming home, which mouid them to think that I had some dealing with the King that might be to their preiudice. I answered, that my presente state was such that I could not goe out thence, neether openly abroade, untill such tyme I had receaued my triall, that my frendes might accompanie me where they were, at which time I could satisfie their Lordships in all respectes; in the mean time, I would moue some frendes be dealt with for removing that errour—of that nomber I prayed his Lordship might be one. Then after he entred in a large discourse of the King his proceedinge, that had so vnaduisedlie gone forwardis in the subscribing of this League, wherein noe reciprocall dealinge had beene vsed, (so he termed it), as might appeare by certen notes, in forme of Articles, that he had deliuered to her Maiesties Ambassador, and that the King had proceeded so far in his absence, and without the aduise of his Nobilitie, that would noe wise agree to such kinde of dealing; and for his own parte, he could not in conscience forbear to geue his Maister his best aduise, aswell howe to repayre that matter as to abstayne to goe forward, if the instrument promised should be refused to be geuen, (so they terme that

lettre which was geven to the Ambaffador). I answered, that his Lordship, beeinge wife, might well confider that fuch kinde of dealing might procure hatred vnto him, fpecially of her Maieftie, if he fhould affay to take back that which was already concluded. Befides, in the litle fpeache that I had with his Maieftie, it did appeare to me that he had wholly dedicated him felf to be at her Maiefties devocion; and if any fhould affay to diverte him therefrom, iuft occafion of ill dealinge would be conceaued againft them by himfelf, that might produce very hard effectes; and I thought it was very perrillous for his ftate to enter in that courfe. His anfwere was, if the King and his Nobilitie did well agree, (as he beleeeved they fhould), there was no danger for him in that matter. Thereafter he confefled to me, that he was entred in league or bonde with that parte of the Nobilitie that were comme home of late; as to the remanent, they would thank him and affift him; and as for the bond, there was nothing conteyned therein but that they ioyned them felves for the aduancement of the King his feruice; and therefore he was the more curious if I had any dealing, or was minded to deale, with the King, for drawing of him to the Quenes Maieftie of England her devocion, without their aduife or privitie. Towardes my owne parte, I fully fatiffied him in that pointe, and did give fufficient reafons that there was noe fuch meaninge, either in her Maieftie, or any of her counsellors. Albeit bothe refon and the veritie it felfe might haue led him to haue beleeeved my fpeache, yet my rethorique was not fo fufficient as to fully fatiffy him in this pointe. The reafons that movid him in the contrary were, that he vnderftood no nobleman in Scotland was dealt with [at] all in this matter of the League, except the King onlie; albeit in the power geven to him mencion was made, that the fame fhould be concluded by the aduife of fuch of his Councell as he fhould think meeteft to make choice of. Befides that, it was not the cuftome (as he alleaged) of this realme, that the Nobilitie would giue their confent in any matter of fo great weight where they had not beene dealt with before, and therefore he thought that none of the Nobilitie, at leaft very fewe of them, would yeald their confent; and if pat were not done, he thought the King with time might be moved to confider of his fudden proceadure, which he

thought might some daye be reputed an error. He propounded diuers other argumentes, some of them *longe petita*. To all theis I answered, that I could not be perswaded that this course which he did propone could any whitt agree with their owne suretie, which, of necessitie, behoved to depend from her Maiesties credite with the King, which, if they would hinder the course of frendship betwixt the Princes, they should in like manner cutt of their owne suretie: Besides, I feared, if her Maiestie should be informed of any parte of their meaning, it would move her Maiestie to consent to goe further with the Kinge in private frendshipp then might well agree or stand with their welfare: Therefore, since foundes of frendship were knitt vpp amongst them, I prayed him advisedlie to proceede for his and their suretie, which I thought could noe wise subsist but by frendship betwixt thes twoo princes, whereby it was necessarie that the King should be bound by all meanes to the observing of quietnes; and the more straightlie that he should finde himself obliged to her Maiestie, the greater would be their suretie. This speach (as appeareth) rather did move him then satisfie him. And this was the somme of all that did passe amongst vs, the particulars whereof I am constrained to lay open vnto your Honour, (albeit I shall thereby haue noe better reputacion then to discourse as William Erle), to the end your Honour may better iudge vppon the present state then I [am] able to declare any found opinion, which, notwithstanding, I will not forbear, (according to my present knowledge), to sett downe vnto your Honour, so far as I can either learne or vnderstand by speaking with the King.

There is not in all his realme anie gentleman, of whatfoeuer estate, more at her Maiesties devocion then the King him self, and so would continue by all appareance, if he shalbe suffered to goe forwardes with his owne inclination and love towardes her Maiestie. On the other parte, it may be well vnderstood by confederacies and other proceedinges, amongst such as are affociate, that their meaning is to alter his minde, and to bring him to another course; if not at this present, with time they minde to performe it, (as by diuers plottes which some of them hath propounded vnto the King will appeare.) The some whereof her Maiesties Ambassador, (who can verie sufficientlie dischardge that office), will more largelie make

to your Honor knowne, as also of the proper remedies that he hath vsed, and will vse, for remedying of such inconveniencies as otherwise might suddenly fall out.

So to conclude this vnformall lettre, I am confreynd to lay open before your Honour the vnquiet state of the Master of Gray, who having founded his desire to doe her Maiestie service, vppon this argument, that the King his maefter could never be made sure to her Maiestie, and that realme, (speceallie having confideracion to those that were about him), vnles he should be inworked by action in any thing that might concerne her Maiestie, or be to the benefitt of her state, and conclude that I would crave to be ymployed for the leading of men in the Lowe Country. To which his desire, the Secretary and those affociates did oppone themselves, whereuppon noe small emulation hath growen amongst them, which is not removed through any outward agreeance, but rather daylie increaseth in such sorte as such men as love him fares noe better for his cause. And albeit the King said vnto my self, that he would make offer of his people to serue in that country, and make excuse that he had beene so long in doing thereof; yet the partie aduerse hath since that time so altered his minde, that he now sayeth he can not permitt any to goe in that iourney, vnles the Quenes Maiestie shall declare vnto him that the King of Spayne is her enemy. And the Secretary hath said to my self, that the merchants of Scotland, that nowe finde some benefite by traffique in Spayne, and noe favour in England, hath made sute to the King pat he should not, without great cause, loose the favour of that countrey. In the mean time, that the Master hath remayned in hope to be ymployed in that seruice. So many colonells, captaynes that hath service in the warres before, gentlemen and knightes of good calling, have adioyned them selves vnto him in hope to goe in that seruice, that his ordinary number of that kinde of people is very greate, and daily doe increafe. The names of most parte of them, please your Honour receave, with private note vppon some of them. Through their awayting vppon him, his charges dayly is vnsupportable for him to beare out. And that which is worfe, he knoweth not howe to bee ridd of them with favour, vnles he shall satiffy their expectacion by employing of them. Besides this, it doth appeare that if he shall not be ymployed, his

credite with his mafter the King, by meanes of his enemies, fhallbe shaken, and by confequence be vnable to doe her Maieftie feruice, according to his intendid meaninge. Pitty it were a perfonage fo well devoted to her Maiefties feruice, and of fo good deferving, fhould be in danger to perifhe. I will pray your Honour to confider hereof, and to move my Lord Treafurer, (vppon whose iudgement he affirmeth to depend), to fend him your beft advifes what fhall bee meeteft for him to doe in this matter that toucheth him fo neere. The names of the colonels, that your Honour may perceauce to be marked, haue beene noted with fome fufpitious feruice, and doubtful, and yet they doe affirme that they are able to cleare them felves. Twoo of them speciallie, Halkerfton and Panton, are of highe humours, tending rather to too much then too little, speciallie Panton, that inclines fomewhat towards mutiny. I haue had fome fpeache with them all, but moft speciallie with Colonell Boyde, who appeareth to bee of good nature. I haue had conference with him vppon his feruice that hath beene paffed, wherein I thought he might be touched greatlie in honefty; and vnles he might make him to be knowne honeft in that matter, I gaue him counfell that he should not offer him felf in the prefente fervice. He answered, that he was well able to make his honeftie to appeare, and would not fayle for performing thereof, to goe in that countrey, albeit it should be without chardge, with one harguebufhe on his fhoulders for trying thereof. In the end it was concluded, that if fo should be your pleafure, he would come to your felf in England, and make his whole caufe knowne to your Honour, and would in prefent manner let you vnderftand, that he would be well able to performe fome fecretre fervice that might put his honeftie and reputacion to be voyd of all queftion. It may please your Honour to let me vnderftand yf you reft fatisfied with his cominge to your Honour. He mindeth to departe from thence to the Lowe Countrey, for performing of the fervice wherewith he fhall make your Honour acquainted. I haue beene thefe dayes paff wried with the receauing of welcome from my frendis, that I could not get leafure to write of any graver matter. Moft humbly I craue your Honours fauour that this lettre may make my excuse to my finguler good Lord, my Lord Treafurer, whose honour I mind to trouble with ill writing, when

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occasion shall be offered, of a more graver subiect. And so, craving pardon for my boldnes to trouble you with so long a letter, I humbly take my leaue. from my Lord Ambassadors lodging, at Edinburgh, this sixte of May, [1586].

Your Honours moste humble to  
command with service,

*A Douglas*

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

I RECEAVED a letter of yours of the date of the xv<sup>th</sup> hereof, and haue seene another to the Master of Gray, wherevpon he craues my aduise towards this mocion, made of late, of his iourney towards my Lord of Leicester.

Truly, Sir, the gentleman doth not a little marvayle, howe it hath fallen oute, that he was firste animated to the said voyage, then discharged, after noe small losse of expenses bestowed, as well for his particular preparacion, as for the enterteynement of diuers that would haue gone with him in companie; besides, in respect of this discharge, he hath beene constrained to take a newe course with him self for his private affayres, by settling his fortune with his Maister, and enterteyning of his former credite in his companie.

In respect of theis promisses, he prayeth me to confider with my self, howe vnseemlie it would be to haue to deale with the King, vpon the suddain, in the contrary, in a matter where vnto he had not only yeilded of before, but by meanes procured all those matters. He is constrained to think vpon, by reason of the mutacion that worldlie matters are subiect vnto, and to imagine thence this deliberacion may alter, as others haue

<sup>1</sup> From a copy bearing date 23d June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 237.

done, and by consequence indanger his credite and whole reputacion, besides the losse of his goodes and fortune that he hath alreadie fusteyned, which are more then his state can beare; wherein I can be a witnes by my self, that hath neither left nor shall leaue any thing vndone, that may aduance either your Lordships desire, on his said voyage or welfare. But what counsell is to be geuen in theis matters, hardlie can I tell, alwaies this farre we haue concluded to pray your Honor be assured that the same mind to doe her Maiestie seruice, and to the said Erle all the seruice and good offices he can devise, doth as yet remayne in his minde as before; but neither the meanes, neither the libertie of him self, are so great as before they were to performe that matter, which he with so good will would accomplish. The nearest way how theis matters may be helped, he thinkes, wilbe that either her Maiestie or the said Erle may be movid to write to his said Soueraigne, that he may be perswaded to geue comand to him to goe forward in the said iourney; to this effect he did pray me to accompanie a letter to your Honour, which I could not refuse.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

I HAUE noe further to write presentlie, excepte that which I haue alreadie certified to my Lord Ambassadour, who will make your Honour acquainted therewith.

I fend you herewithall this, with inclosed copie of a letter to the Master of Gray from my Lord the Erle of Leicester. By letteris from the said Master, your Honor will vnderstand of what intention he doth remayne towarde this voyage to the Lowe Countrey, and what impedimentes appeareth necessary to be removed. I am of that opinion, if her Maiestie cannot be movid to write the King for the furthering of that iourney, neether that the Erle his lette can come hither with speede required in this matter, that it shalbe well done that the Ambassadour be instructed to

<sup>1</sup> From a copy dated 27th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 241.

deale in this matter with the King, who hath, I assure you, conceived a very good opinion of him.

His Maiestie is presentlie here at Dunfermling with the said Master, and to remayne for the space of vij daies after the date hereof. Our Secretarie hath also beene heere to moue his Maiestie in some matters tending to delay of his League, and for streight going forward in theis matters of Border; but hath not prevailed. The French Ambassadour hath beene at Courte since the arrival of this messenger from that realme. His chiefeft errand was to sollicit, that noe man should goe out of this realme to the Kinge of Navarre; and to shew the King of his master his good succeffe in busenes at home, he doth constantlie affirme that the Erle of Leicester is sick; whereof I haue thought good to make your Honour aduertised. Comonly such proceedinge brutes from that careles notion of mens lives accompanied with ill effectes; at least experience may teach men that, in times passed, such brutes hath not refen vnto such time as the intencion of the enemy was well founded. It hath pleased him also to speake his pleasure of me to the King. But I beleeeve the graunting of libertie to such men to come hither, by permission, shall breede more harme to the comon cause, then against me in particular. And so, Sir.

From Dumfermling.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

I AM commandit by his Maiestie to vryt to you a feu lines, and, before God, if euer I haid credite at your hands, I must now imploy it for his Maiestie. In some difficulties pat occuris in this meiting of the Comissioners for the League, but cheifly in the nint article, vitche hes, as appeiris, proceedit from your self, for if ye haid lattan it be in the forme it ves firste fet'down, noe contrauension haid ryfin of it: Bot now the dif-

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. fol. 245.



ference is in the tyme, viche the King defyris to be from his Coronation, and it is set doun in the subscriuit League only from the acceptation of the Gouernment in his auin hand. The cause of this comes by reason the King is informit, pat the skaithes dune to England of lait yeiris ar so gryt, pat he and his subiects are not aible to repay them, vithout they be recompensit by sune dune of befor by England to his realme and subiects. Bot pis is a maiter that requyris a long disputation, and hardly can be defydit at pis tyme. Thairfor, according to your defyr in a pairt, the Kings Maiestie craueis pat the nynt article be omittit in the League; and forder, pat the reasoning of it be continuit, ether to the meiting of the Lieutenantis for bothe the realmes, or than til fute tyme as expresly Commiffioners be deput for pat effect; viche is, in þe self, verie veichtie. Sir, lat it be dune, I pray you, for, befor God, the Kings Maiesties honourable and princely dealing at pis tyme meritis more þan pat he craues, for he hes shauin him self so veil affectit at this tyme, pat many of his auin subiects accomptis him a better English man than Scotife man. Thairfor, I pray you oneis agene, that he be accordingly delt vithall, feing the maiter contrauentit is of no gryt importance, and fute a maiter as I am affurit the Queins Maiestie vil neuer mak a question in vith his Maiestie. The only regret is, pat the Noble menis stay at the meiting by it shall be some quhat long, bot þe remed is the soner to heast anfuer. And I pray you lat it be, for you shall find many heir quho feikis no better occasioun than this to cast all thingis afe. Mr Myllis can tell you quhou nobly and fractly the King spak pis day in this maiter: so in that I remit me to him.

Yesterday I refaueit from my Lord of Leicester dyuers letters, bot all tending to one effect, defyring pat he may speik vith me in Vest Holland; bot all ver befor Captaine Hakerstouns arryuell thair, so pat nou I think he hes chaingit deliberation. Bot vpon vord from him, I shall leaue no thing vndune pat I can, albeit in deid it lyes not in my hand to do so mutche as of befor, for the reasonis conteinit in my former letteris. Bot the remedys ar to you knowin, and yit I shall repet them shortly: first, in respect pat it pleasis þe King nou to giue me pis same place I haid of before, I can not leaue him, bot by his auin command. Secondly, feing I frustrat bothe my self, and all þe gentlemen and captaines my fodiouers,

to our grypt chairgis, it shall be a thing not possible to harness them the second tym with out a grypt certaintie, for they se all worldly coursis subiect to chaingeis. Than, ether the Quenis Maiestie, or my Lord, or bothe, must craue it of the King, and present moyens must be send for pe satisfaction of the gentlemen. Bot I remit þis to your self and all vther particularities to Mr Archibald Douglas, quho, I hoype, shalbe schortly vithe you, send by his Maiestie in maiters of importance to the Queins Maiestie. The King lykis verie veil of him. If my Lord of Leicester hes any forder to deall vithe him, yt shalbe veil dune he send it to your Honour, for he vil be at you vithin tuentie dayis, and hes to satiffie my Lord from his Soueraine verie amply. The grypt heaft shall mak me conclud in committing you to Godis holy protection: From Dumfermeling, þis last of Junij, 1586.

Your loving frend to be commaundit,

*W<sup>m</sup> of Gray*

To the Ryght Honorable Sir Francis  
Walsinghame, principal Secreatary  
to the Queens Maiestie of England,  
and one of the Counfall thair.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO MR RANDOLPHE.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, I haue movid her Maiestie to write her letteris to the King for the employment of the Master of Gray in the Lowe Countries. But she findeth his abode in that realme more necessarie, ffor that she hath of

<sup>1</sup> From the original Minute in Walsingham's hand, 22d July 1586, Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. fol. 277.

late receaved secrete aduertifementes out of France, that the French Ambassadour there with you hath geuen great assurance vnto the Queen Mother of greate matters to be there wrought and brought to passe, by the Lord Claude and his partie. For the discouery of the bottome of which practife, she would haue you deale both with the Master of Gray and Mr Archibald Douglas, that they vse some extraordinary care therein, and yet would she haue the matter handled with all the secrecie that is possible. Thus much was I willed to write to you with speede, and therewith to fend you her Maiesties letter to the King, for your revocation. I pray you let my haste of writinge excuse me to the Master of Gray and Mr Douglas in not writing to them. And so, Sir.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

PLEASE YOUR HONOUR, before the receaving of yours bearing date pe xxij<sup>nd</sup> of this instant, I was minded to haue written unto you a discourse of the state of this country, from the doing whereof I did absteyne during the abode of my Lord Ambassadour, specialie bycause I sawe his Honour inclined to deale only with the King, my soveraigne, as beeing both reasonable and that way instructed, whereof I did best like; albeit in veritie the present state of his realme, through diversitie of factions in religion, and profession in minde obedient to fundrie authorities, did otherwise require. In this matter I have been some parte curious of late, and have discovered divers matters to be misliked of. A parte of them I made your Honour acquainted with before, and therewithall shewed my opinion that the danger appeared not to be greate, unles some matter of force should come from foreine partes, that might alter the presente state. By that letter I declared from what ground the ill did proceede, and the remedies that did appeare most proper to reduce in the state of this coun-

<sup>1</sup> From a copy in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 193, fol. 279, where the date is given 30th July 1586.

trey to some more assured quietness. To this letter it was not your Honours pleasure to give any speciall answer. In respect whereof, and for discharge of my dutie and promise to her Maiestie, my Lord Treasurer, and to yourself, I haue accepted a charge from my Sovereigne, to be directed towards her Maiestie, with matters of no small importance. And that be all apparent might helpe these matters, being well vsed, at the best, my dutie in all respectes may appeare thereby to be discharged, I am not ignorant of the dealing that men are traveling into in this realme, but as yet I cannot perceave that they are like to take effecte, shortlie at the least. For this some states the force shall come from forrayne partes. And if the worst should fall out before October, I cannot finde a better remedie to helpe that matter, then that the Master of Gray should be making his forces and preparations readie towards the Lowe Countrey, while that season was passed. As for my owne parte, if I were not to farre gone forwards in this my intended iourney, taken on vppon mine owne charges, that I cannot goe back without declaracion of some misliking towards my Sovereigne, and that my staying might breede divers waies harme to the good effectes that my iourney appeared to produce, I could be contented to remayne at home, and therebye avoyde the envie of such as hath employed their whole credite to procure my abidinge. But yet I cannot perceive, that in the end either the Master of Grayes, or my abidinge, or moe with us, can be able to stay the intended projectes, vnles matters be more deepeley founded, and the disease cured from the grounde, either by medicamentes lenitive or courosive. I must leave further of this matter to some other letter, or to my owne cominge. As towards this iourney intended by the said Master of Gray, I finde him therein so implacable since the receipt of this letter for staying thereof, that I can not tell what way to deale with him theranent. He alleadgeth that his charges bestowed for the advancement thereof is so excessive, that if his whole heritage were sold, the price would not pay his debtes. And that, besides that losse of goodes, he thinketh himself so farre interested in honour, by contramandements and desire to goe forward, that he cannot live in reputacion in this realme, but must needs departe from thence to forrayne countries. Hereof he would impute a parte of the

blame unto me. I knowe his necessity of late was so greate, that, when he was minded to fettle his abode at home, ix hundred lib Sterling, for the which I became bound, was not able to cover his necessitie. What is to be done in this matter, I pray your Honour may be declared to Captayne Hackerston his servant, sent to know your Honours pleasure what shall become of him, and who knowes what charges he hath been of late.

The particularities of these intended proiectes would be long to write, but this farre may appeare, that the generall tends to this end that Protestant and Papist factions for King and Queene should all agree in one to drawe the King to their appetite; and, I will assure you, contrarie to his owned will or minde, as by this private dealing partlie may appeare. Our Secretarie hath so dealt with the Carres, that were minded to enter into England, for satisfaction of her Maiesties honour anent the murder of Sir Francis Ruffell, that, by interposed persons, he hath made them to believe howe innocent foeuer they be, they wilbe ill used if they shall enter in that realme. Such terrour they have receaved by his meanes that they are become fugitive and denounced rebelles. The King hath desired of the Ambassadour, that they shall receave no favour in England, and hath promised that he shall cause theire houses be possessed by others, and all other rigour and extremitie vsed against them. Albeit his meaning is herein very good, yet, in respect of those proiectes, I must needes doubt of the performance. This matter is of noe small weight. They are the chiefeft men of that name, and the principall of that frontier. In respect whereof, I haue, since the departure of the Ambassadour, obteyned commission of the King to deale with them, and have so farre travayled that, vppon my worde, they are contented to enter at Carlisle, wher I shalbe to convey them thither. I thinck it shalbe well done to write to my Lord Scroope for their safe receaving and keeping, till such time as her Maiesties further pleasure shalbe knowen herein. Yf it might be your Honours pleasure, I would be glad to vnderstand the intended determinacion against them; ffor forrie I would be, through desire to doe good, to procure harme against myself or frendes. What hath beene my dealing therein Thomas Milles can declare.

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In the end, I must conclude this informall letter in theis termes: If any matter shall fall out in this countrey that may be preiudiciall to that realme, the irrefolucion of that State cannot be without blame, that will not put remedie to matters when as they may be helped. And notwithstanding thereof, this farre your Honour may be assured of, that noe thing shalbe left vndone here that may helpe matters in the best forme we can. Glad I would be to knowe yf this late intelligence hath any appearance to be dangerous in short time.

I can perceauie noe further by the Lord of Fyntrey then that which I wrote before. He is presentelie in this towne, in dealing for a mariage with Secretary Lethington his daughter.

I am affrayed that Mr Johne Colvill his covetousnes to be in credite shalbe noe goode. Of one thing I must putt you in remembrance, that you are like to loofe the Master of Glamis for lack of writing vnto him. I was ever of that opinion that it was necessary to keepe all men in good expectation. And so, &c.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS LOVING FRIEND, MR ARCHBALD DOUGLAS,  
EMBASSADOR FROM THE KING'S MAJESTIE OF SCOTLAND,  
TOWARDS THE QUENE OF ENGLAND.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, Becaus I am shortly to send Roger with his Maiesties letters to you, I will not write at lenche. Ye do evil that taxis the Secretary with any maiter by letter to his Majestie: for sic dealing, of necessitie, must neidis have good men and veilvillars to comment on, or than evil villars makis evil constructions. His Majestie by Roger is to vryte to the Q. congratatorie, to my Lord Leicester, and Sir Francis, I beleieve to the Thesaurer, so he has promissit to me. As for the first pairt, tutching the conspiracie, I cannot now vryte at lenche, bot differris it til I send Roger; yit this far I advertis you, that the King is veil villit in all thingis as ye left him, and verie glaid of the decoverie of this maiter. Bot his opinion

<sup>1</sup> From MUNDIN'S State Papers, p. 568.

is that it cannot stand with his honour, that he be a consentir to tak his Mother's lyf, bot he is content how strictly she be keipit, and all hir auld knaifish fervantis heingit, cheifly thay who be in handis. For this you must deal verie varly to eschen [escheu] inconvenientis, seeing necessitie of all honest menis affairs requyris that she var out of the vay. I committis you to God.

Your affectionat Friend,

P. MASTER OF GRAY.

From Dumf. this 8th of  
September 1586.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

there verrie honest gentleman. Bot as by my last I must pray you, upon my obligation to be comptable to th'Erle of Leicefter and Estaitis, I may haue of her Maiestie 2000 or fyftein hunder pound,<sup>2</sup> and if any thing be superplus, it shall come to be pay-breif, it shall debat so mutche to me, and be holl troupes, if I giue a cleir compt. I am affurit no Almaine would haue listit four thousand foot men vithe ane hundrethe hors, for fyftie thousand crounes, and my nombre is litle les, and better grilnishing<sup>3</sup> shalbe of no country. I pray you, Sir, yf you forder this and fend me vord with diligence, for if I fal fell my land, or my jowels, it vilbe thocht I am not vyse, and some litle discredit it shalbe to hir Maiestie; and, befor God, if it be not fend from thence, I must do it, for I vil giue liberally to gentlemen, and tym feruis not pat I can fend for it now to my Lord of Leicefter. I remit me than to you and hir Maiesties favor-

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art 213, fol. 317. This article is imperfect, the first sheet of the original being wanting.

<sup>2</sup> '1586, August. A warrant for £2000 delivered to Master of Gray of Scotland, to levy certayn footmen in Scotland for the Lowe Countreys.'—*Murdoch's State Papers*, p. 785.

<sup>3</sup> Sic in manuscript.

able dealing towardis me; afchuir you it shall neuer come in my handis. Sir, I haue vrittin to his Maiesties Ambassadour of ane aduertisement I hard yifter night. I pray you inquire it of him, for it is not impertinent. The Eternall be vithe you for euer. From Dumfermling pis 9<sup>th</sup> of Sept. 1586.

Yours as his auin to be comandit,

*J. M. of Gray.*

Sir, for the bettir impreffion, I leaue laft to recommend vnto you pis bearer, to you veil knowin. It shalbe verie vil dun, and I pray you pat ye favour him in his fute, for he may doe great good in my absence; for affur you noe man gettis founer knowledge of thingis than he, and is not furer to aduertis. The King in lyke maner vil think veil of it pat he be veil vfit. I affur my self than that ye vil do for him.

To the Right Honourable Sir Francis  
Walsingham, principall Secretary to  
the Quenes Maiestie of England.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, the Queenes Maiestie beeing made acquainted with the contents of your laft letteris of the xxx<sup>th</sup> of Augufte, and fecond of this present, directed vnto me, doth think her self greatlie beholden vnto you, for the care you seeme to haue to further any thing that you may iudge to be for the benefite and aduancement of her seruice: which geuing her iust cause to haue like care of the safetie of that realme, and of your own good and

<sup>1</sup> This and the following article are from the original minutes in Walsingham's handwriting, dated 14th Sept. 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 208, fol. 311, 312.



well doing in particular, she hath willed me to lett you understand, that she findeth it inconvenient you should send over into the Lowe Countries any greater number of foldiers than those that are alreadie transported: wherein her iudgement is grounded vppon theis two considerations; first, that some sturres or alteracions beeing likelie to happen in that realme, as may be coniectured by the claimes made by the Lord Maxwell, some parte of theis troopes, which in likelihoode doe consist of your friends, seruantes and dependantes, were fittest to be reteyned at home, for the better strength and defence of the realme and your owne safety; and next, bycause she vnderstandeth from my Lord of Leicester, that the States doe not keepe promise in the due answering of such contribucions as they haue offred, whereby her Maiestie doubteth that the greater number you carry, the worfe you shall be paid, which she should be verie forrie should so fall out.

Touching the Captens named in your letter that served at Bruges, for whose employment you desyre to knowe my opinion, though the gentlemen, in the yealding vp of the towne, were constrained by reason and necessitie to doe as they did, yet, bycause the people of the countrey are by nature subiect to iealousie and suspicion, and not easilie movid from any conceipt or apprehencion that they once take of thingis, in the discourse of their owne reason, I doubte me, therefore, it would rather doe harme than good, that you should haue them about you. I may nott also omitte to lett you vnderstand, as one very desirous that the protested, and nowe so well settled, amitie and frendshipp betweene our twoo Soveraignes should remayne and continue in those good termes that it standeth at this present, for their owne honor, safetie, and the weale of their subiectes, which maketh me the more careful to foresee and prevent such inconveniences as may breede any hinderance and interupcion of the same, that there are diuers brutes geuen out, aswell in France as here in England, of an intended matche betweene the Duke of Lennox and the Lord Hamiltons daughter; which found as though the ill affected, both here and in Scotland, did conceave some hope that the said match would bring forth some effectes, whereof might ensue a newe alteracion in that state, and also a breach of that straight amitie betweene their Maiesties. So, as

I feare, left the opinion of such an alteration to followe by meanes of the said matche, may minifter matter and occasion of such mislike as was here conceavid of the alteration in St Andrewes; and therevpon I haue thought fitt to forewarne you thereof, to th'end that you may for your parte perfwade the King, your foueraigne, not to giue his consent to the going forward of the said matche, vntill he hath made her Maiestie acquainted with all, according to his owne promise made vnto her, that he would depend vpon her aduise and counsell in matters of great importance, of which kinde this seemeth to be one.<sup>1</sup> And so, Sir. Windfore.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.

SIR, I thank you for founding the Kings disposition, howe he could be content to haue the Queen his mother proceeded against for the late facte. But I suppose it will be in vayne to move him any further in it, bycause he may conceive it would be againste *bonos mores*, in respect of the bond of nature betweene them, that he should make him self a partie againste her; neuertheless you may with good reason perfwade him, that he make no mediacion for her, or oppose him self against the course that is intended to be heald with her, considering the hard measure that his Father receaved at her handes; for which detestable facte she was deprived of her crowne. It is meant that she shall be tried here according to the acte made in the last Parliament, and that, agreeable to the contents of the said acte, certen Noble men shalbe appointed to chardge her, who assemble for that purpose the xxvj<sup>th</sup> of this moneth, and shalbe with her by the fourth of the next at Fodringay Castle in Northampton shire, seaven miles from Stamford, whether she is appointed to be brought. But the matters whereof she is guiltie are alreadie so playne and manifest, (beeing also confessed by her twoo Secretaries), as it is thought, they shall

<sup>1</sup> See Courcelles' *Negotiations in Scotland*, p. 5. Edin. 1828. 4to. Printed for the Bannatyne Club.

require noe long debating. We suppose she will appeale and challenge the priviledge of her soveraigntie, which, in this case, neither by the Civile lawes, nor by the lawes of this realme, can be avayleable.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS HONOURABLE AND LOVING FRIEND,  
MY LORD EMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE OF SCOTLAND  
TOWARDIS THE QUEENE OF ENGLAND.<sup>1</sup>

MY LORD, I refaveit your letter this 28<sup>th</sup>, daitit the 21. His Majestie is verie veil content vith all your proceedings, bot cheifly tutching his boukis and hunting horsfes.<sup>2</sup> I pray you negotiat so veil that ye fael not to effectuat subftantially that point. As for his Mother, his command is you do as he gave your nephew Richard instruction. I can affhur you he is content the law go fordvart, her life being save, and would glaidly vifche that all foraine Princefs should know how evil she had usit hirself towardis the Q. Majestie thair, and that she refaveis favour through her clemencie. I commit your L. to God

Your L. as is awin,

MASTER OF GRAY.

From Falkland this 29<sup>th</sup> of  
September 1586.

<sup>1</sup> From MURDIN'S State Papers, p. 569.

<sup>2</sup> Queen Elizabeth seems, as a matter of policy, to have humoured King James in his favourite pastime of hunting, by sending him horses, huntsmen, &c. Randolphe thus writes (5th August 1586) to Mr Archibald Douglas:—'I have sent the Kynge two hunting men, verie good and skillful, with one footman, that can hoop, hollow and crye, that all the trees in Fawkland will quake for fear. Pray the Kynge's Majestie to be mercifull to the poor bucks; but let him spare and look well to himself.'—*Murdin*, p. 558.

SIR HENRY WODDRINGTON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAME.<sup>1</sup>

THE vj<sup>th</sup> of this instant there came to this towne 140 foldiers, that were shipt by the Master of Gray forthe of Scotland into Flanders, who were taken vpon the coast of Flanders by those of Dunkirke, all spoiled, the captaine and lieutenant carried away, and certaine of them flaine to the nombre of 20, who cutt downe theire maine mast, bougheftd<sup>2</sup> there shippe with greate ordnance, and tooke away their pomp, and left them without ether faile or anker on the maine sea; who landed about Bambroughe, and coming hether, hauing nothinge left them, I defrayed their chargis here, and gaue them some money to carry them home. Berwick.

TO MR SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.<sup>3</sup>

MY GOOD LORD. To the effect your Lordship may know my meanes and intention, not onlye to serue for making your Lordship acquaynted and preface of such forayne courses and plottes, as may be eyther prejudiciall to the King my masters advancement, or yet to the standing and continuance of her Maiesties most noble estate of England, I thought expedient to make your Lordship advertised by this present, that immediately after my Lordes return to Scotland, I was pressed to travell with the Master of Gray, Sir James Steward, sometime Erle of Arane, (who continues still in the Kings favor and good grace), that matters being taken upp betwene them, and a sure contract and band of perpetuall frendshipp subscribed by them both, he might frelye resort to his Masters prefence, and

<sup>1</sup> From a copy dated 7 Nov. 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 240, fol. 440.

<sup>2</sup> Sic in manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> HARLEIAN MSS. No. 290, fol. 170. This letter has no date, but it evidently refers to matters prior to Nov. 1586; and appears to have been written from Scotland by some secret favorer of England. In some places the manuscript is illegible.

so that by his perswasion the Kinge might bothe more easlye be moved to embrace the French course, and present armes against England, unlesse pat he have his Mother sett at lybertye. For, suppose the Quenes Maiestie of England wold, at the Kinges desire, forgiue this his Mothers offence, it will nowght be sufficient at this time, onlesse she will putt her at libertye; for we suppose pat ye dare not effectuate any thing agaynst our Quenes life, in respect of these accidents pat are fallen owt, so farre by your expectation, in the Low Contryes; so pat ye are only purposed to kepe her, and to dispone your selves to peace and quietnesse with Spayne and France by her redeliverye, when ye shalbe putt to it. And soch was the discourse of our Embassadors to the King our master. There is no small jelowsye betwene the Secretarye and the Master of Gray; for the one presseth to have regresse to his former credit to his owne person, so pat the departure of the Embassador into France is delayed till the incoming of the English Embassadour. Emulation makes the Master the more willing to deale with James Steward, by whose meanes the other may be debased; which, if it take effect, will be the only meanes to draw the Kinges maiesty from England, and therefore I thought good to hold the Master of taking any sodayne resolution in this matter, till your Lordships advertisement, and shall hinder or further the same as your wisdom shall thinke nedefull. I have not yet had leasure to communicate with the Jesuites, but I am advertised that they are to offer any what somme of monye to his Maiesty by . . . . . suspect person, to push him forward in the suing for his Mothers libertye. Alwayes within few dayes I shall make your Lordship prefence of weyghtier maiters, as they shall fall forth.

There is a great contention betwixt the King and the Ministrie for praying for his Maiesties Mother; but now they are content to pray for her conditionallye. It may be your Lordship receave a packett of Monsieur Courcelles letters at the French embassador Chauneuf. I have delt so with them bothe as to be able, by my moyen, to make theyr secret letters to . . . to your Lordship ha . . . . . I desire, (as yow wold wishe matters to continue,) that yow governe this matter with all kinde

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of crafte and secrecie, for so may it redound to your Lordships credit, and advancement of the cause. I spake with Mr Archibald, touching these poynts, at length in this turne before my awaycoming, with whome it may please your Lordship to advise. As touching my selfe, your Lordship shall finde no lacke of constancie and secrett dealing on my parte. I will loke for the like in your Lordship, and such other frendshipp as I have hard your Lordship to be most liberall of to them to whome your Lordship beares good will unto, and no otherwise then I shall deferue at your Lordships handes.

The Master of Gray is to send George Gray, his page, shortly into France; alwayes at the next advertisement I shall make your Lordship advertised in particular of that he ganges for, with such other things as shall be more to your contentement. So abiding your advertisement, etc.

To Mr Secretary Walsingham.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS HONOURABLE FREND MR ARCHIBALD  
DOUGLAS, AMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE OF SCOT-  
LAND, TOWARDS THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.<sup>1</sup>

MY LORD, This bearer is directit, according as ye and he defyrit, in the best *Subt.* that for the present occurrit, as ye shall understand by himself. I had vrotten by him a long letter at his Majesties command, but I am contremandit til we heir from you. Yet I shall sommerly set something doun, but keip it from all men. This letter would only have been vrotten by me, and directit to your Lordships self, bot to the end ye should divulgat it through that Court. Becaus the King beginneth to think that he hes done more for the Queene thair, and that country, than he hes re-

<sup>1</sup> From MURDIN's State Papers, p. 571, where it is printed from the original.

favit any great appearance of good meining, he villit you and me to made [make] it manifest, that through the apparent subject that men had heir, cheifly sic as are about him evil affectid, to speik, he should at lenthe be moveit to run some other course: In few wordis, this ves all the somme of the long letter. And by God, I am of the opinion, if franker meining and dealing both be not unfit towardis him, he shall do this in effect: Bot till ye shall reseve advertisement ye shall reveil this to no man. I find his Majestie in conscience as yit ryt fast, and he vill be lothe to tak evil impressiions; bot ye know quhat tyme doeth vork in all kind of subjects, and cheifly in the myndis of Princes. I would not vryt this plainly in my last, because it ves sent only by paquet vithout a fure berar. All men drives at him, first for his Mother, nixt for the maiter of his Title; for they think be the first to move him, for the dishonour it ville be to him; nixt for his title, becaus be that they think his Majestie shall see vthier thay mein evil or veil towardis him: Bot of this ye shall know forder by my nixt. You shall see that the Guisfarchis and his Mothers friendis shall tak occasion upon theis motives to deal, both directly and indirectly, vithe his Majestie. And for my pairt, I have takin this resolution to serve his Majestie faithfully and first: And if I see England to mein veil, I asshur [you] I shall remaine constant that vay; if not, I mynd to follow no course partially, bot to het and love according to my Masters mynd. This, in few vordis, is my resolution. As for my negotiation in his title to that Crown, asshur you I mynd never to crave it, or any dealing in it; bot if I cannot escheu, I vill do quhat ever my Maister commandis me, without respect. My Lord Leicester has sent at dyverse tymes a offre of the proprieté of the Low Countryis to the Kingis Majestie, and now of late, and craves ane answer. It is a thing, if the King micht have it by the Queenis advise thair, not to be refusit; bot except he obtain hir good vill, and not only hir good vill, bot she prays him to tak it, that he vil not accept it. The King longis greitly to heir from you, cheifly tuitching his Mother; thairfor spair not the first occasion, I pray you. Let me feil frankly, without any kynd of scruple, quhat your opinion is anent his fute for his Title; for that is the maiter appeirently that ether shall do men great good or extreim evil; because now the King beginneth to apprehend that maiter verie

fare. This is all I can vryte to you for the present in matters of Estait. I commit your Lordship to God.

Your Lordships as his awin,

MASTER OF GRAY.

From the Holyrudhouse,  
this 10th of November, 1586.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS LOVING AND HONOURABLE FRIEND,  
MR ARCH. DOUGLAS, EMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE  
OF SCOTLAND, TOWARDIS THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, I refaveit your letter, and am forry to perfave thingis fall furthe as thay do. All the evil affectit to the good quyettnefs betweene the realmes studiis now to tak occasion to divert his Majestie, and not only to divert him, but to animat him, as you may perfave by this earnest dealing; and I pray you, befor I enter into any forder discours, that ye be a verie great dealer for hir, for no uther vay is there to content the King. He apprehends the maiter so vehemently, and has commandit me to vryte to you, that ye deal directly in that maiter, for he fays he vil not diffimull in it himself. Now to let you know quhat order his Majestie has takin upon sicht of your last letters and Villam Keythis, first, he has vrottin to you vithe his awin hand a few lynes, as ye shall refave, the rest he has remittit to me. Becaus that he sent Villam Keythe away in a haste, and that both his opinion and yours was, that some nobleman should be fend thair, his Majestie is fully resolvit to fend a Nobleman and two of his Counsell. As yet skairfly can he resolve vhom to fend, but he has dealt with the Earle Bothwell, and vith myself verie urgently. The Earle, if moyen be found, vil accept it. For my self, I have as yet refusid; bot becaus the

<sup>1</sup> From MURDIN'S *State Papers*, p. 573, where it is printed from the original.



King tuk it evil, I have takin me til advyfe; fo having advyfit, I have laid the good and evil of both the pairtis fo far as I can, and judge ye of them. Refufe I, the King fhall think I know already quhat fhall come of thingis; fo that if ſhe die, he fhall not feal to quarrell me for it. Leive ſhe, I fhall haue double harme. Refufe I not, but interpryfe the voyage, if ſhe die, men fhall think I have lent her a hand, fo that I fhall leive under that flander; and leive ſhe be my travail, I bring a ſtaff to my awin head, or at the leaſt fhall have little thanks. Yit if I cannot efcheu, rather or I fuſtein the Kings vrathe, I mynd to accept the commiſſion; and if ſhe die, the uther two fhall bear vitnefs I have done my deutie. Seeing this maiter comeis one this—I would fain the Queen and hir Counſell would devyfe ſome middis, for, by God, the maiter is hard to you and me bothe. For as I vrot to you by my laſt, the King thinks ye nicht have done more in that maiter. So far to content him, firſt, vryt your ample purgation; nixt deal freely, come of it quhat ſo may, and I hope it fhall turn to your veil. I have vrottin heir a letter to the Queens Majeſtie, quhereof I ſend a copie. To be plain with you, it was the Kings mynd I ſhould do ſo, to the end ſhe ſhould not tak my coming in evil pairt, in caſe I come. And I proteſt before God, I undertak that voyage for to ſee what good I can do, to mak ſome middis, becauſe I ſee the King wholly myndit to run a uther courſe, if violence be uſit, which I know fhall be my vrak, being ſo far imbarkit that vay that ſkairfly can I retire myſelf. And for your ſelf, it is true, ye have thair moyens, bot keip your compt, if his Majeſtie ſteir a uther courſe, you fhall die a banifit man. Ye know how mortell all Princes are, fo it is good to remember of home; and this is my ground I keip, for that I ſee men, and chiefly your enemies and myn both, to be biſie at this occaſion to divert his Majeſtie from his preſent courſe, knowing thairby to herme us both. I mynd to interpryfe the voyage rather than to refuſe, to the end I may ſee if ſome good middis may be takin for the Queens ſuretie of that realme, and all honeſt manis, and for the contentment of this Prince our Sovereine. In this mid tyme, I pray you, feeing you may ſee it to be veil for your ſelf, that before my coming, you deal quickly in it, and dally not. I will be thus plainly with you: ſee I no middis, bot that all fhall brak

between this Princes, I vil feik the longeſt lyf, and follow my Maſter directly and ſincerely. Bot firſt, or I caſt myſelf in that hazard, I will exhonor myſelf of my deutie in eſſeying if ſome good moyen may be found to the contentment of the Princes, to the veil of both realmes, and for intertaining the maiter now profeſſit, which in my opinion ſhall be dreſſit by a capitulation, and to the Queen of Englands contentment. I pray you do quhat you can to mak maiters abyde our coming. I have bein heir verie plaine, and plainer than reaſon would, in reſpect of the vay I fend them. As for any bruitis or reportis maid of you unto me, ye ſhall know them all at meiting; and if I meit not with you, the Laird of Reſtabris [Reſtalrig?] ſhall be at you, who ſhall ſhau you them. In the mid tyme, tak no opinion or apprehenſions, for aſſhur you ye ſhall do me great wrong befor I truſt it, and my eife and underſtanding ſhall be my informers. If I would have left you, I had better occaſion than now, and has for your cauſe ſufficient over many manis evil villis, without reaſon, to truſt. Bot all this to meiting, or Reſtabriffes coming to you. I pray you oneis agene, feeling ſo far this maiter is lyk to tutche me, if the King change courſe, that ye deal for ſome good middis before I come, and vith the firſt commoditie feal not to fend me your opinion, for ye have myn freely, as God is my vitneſs. I pray you, as I vrot of before, to gaine that young man Villam Keythe, for he may do good, and I perſaue he vrytis reaſonably veil of you, at the leaſt to me, and to the King himſelf; yit the King hes a vehement ſuſpition, which ſatiſſie, I pray you, in your next. Ye ſhall find great comfort at my coming, or yit at Reſtabriffes coming. Deal, I pray you, both by yourſelf, and aſſiſt Villam Keythe, for a continuation of any execution agenſt the Kingis Mother. I think it not impertinent ye deal freely in this maiter with the Queen and Mr Secretary, and alſo with my Lord Theſaurer, and let them know the verie ſimple veritie, for in my judgment thay love to be in frienſhip vith the King. I commit you to God.

Yours as your awin,

MASTER OF GRAY.

This 27th of November, 1586.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO THOMAS TYRIE.<sup>1</sup>

THOMAS TYRIE, I receavit your letter, bot, for by it I understand ye are not now in England, I forbear to make any answeare till it; only I fend youe theife few lynes to let youe know quhat resolucion þe King hes taken anent þe Queen his Mother, uppon fyght of William Keythis letteris, which he hes don in great suddenty. Respecting þe weightines of þe caufe, he hathe only at this tyme written to William Keyth, to see if hē can protract tyme for a short space, to the end some honorable Ambassade be sent to þe Queen of England, for þe effect aforefaid. To þe which Ambassade, he preassd my self, but, at the furst, I refused, which his Majesty took in no good part, so þat now I have condescended, alwayes condicionally, þat tuo of the Queenis especiall frends accompany me. For I was ever in feare, if her lyfe had been tane, þat men should have thought me an especiall occasion of it, and that made me chuse the Earle Bothwell and Sir William [Robert] Melvill, who favors her. And I protest, before God and þe World both, they shall see me do my duty honestly.<sup>2</sup> If the Earle Bothwell be as ready as Sir William [Robert] and I, we shall be gon within eight daies. Therefore faile not, but ye meet me at London so soon as is possible to youe, and bring with youe any thing þat youe know propre for me, so farre as your money extendis; but all black, as feathers, hatt, and filk shanks, &c.

<sup>1</sup> From a copy, HARLEIAN MSS. in the Brit. Museum, No. 290, fol. 169. There is no date to this letter, but it must have been written towards the end of Nov. 1586.

<sup>2</sup> Bothwell was, however, excluded from the embassy, "by the drifte, it was thought, of the Master of Grayes and Archebalde Douglass knowinge the said Earle to be prompt and free of speech, and affectionate to the Queene of Scottis, and such a one as would not, yf he discovered any of the trecherie, which moste suspected by him, conceale it."—*Courcelles' Negotiations in Scotland*, p. 22.

INSTRUCTIONS BY KING JAMES VI. TO THE MASTER OF GRAY AND SIR  
ROBERT MELVILL, AMBASSADORS TO ENGLAND.<sup>1</sup>

INSTRUCTIONS to our truſtie Couſin and Counſellour, Patrick Maiſter of Gray, Comendatour of Dumfermling, and Sir Robert Meluill of Murdocarnie, Knight, our Treaſurer deputye, our Ambaſſadors directed by us, with adviſe of our Eſtate, to our deareſt ſiſter and couſin the Queene of England. From Holyrudhouſe, the xvij<sup>th</sup> December, 1586.

Hæe ſhall in our name ſignifye to our deareſt ſiſter, the Queene of England, that we mervell not a little of the late propoſterous and ſtrange proceedings againſt the Queen, our deareſt Mother, who, beeing a Souveraigne princes, and in all degrees of the beſt blood in Europe, hes beene by ſubjects judged, ay in life and tyle;—a dangerouſe preſident for all princes, and without any approved example in any age or kingdome, and ſo contrarious to our honor, and hardly could any thing have fallen out ſo prejudicial thereunto.

Wee doubt not but our ſayd deareſt ſiſter hath beene ſufficiently advertiſed, how the reſtraint of our deareſt Mother hath beene uncomlie interpreted, ſhe being the prince in the world who was neere unto her, both in blood and vicinitie, haveing reposed her cheife worldly apperance in her amity, often confirmed by many freindly promiſes, and, by her adviſe and perſwading, dimitted the government of this realme; and, in her greateſt extremity, had her refuge unto her, *tanquam ad ſacram anchoram*, looking for nothing leſſe then captivity or imprifonment; but that, *jura ſanguinis, gentium, et hoſpitii, quæ ſemper ſacroſancta ſunt habita*, ſould have availed alſmekill at her hands, as could have beene expected of a generous and pitifull prince, nere couſin, and kindly affured freind. And thoughe her reſtraint was by the moſt part thoughte ſtrange, yet it

<sup>1</sup> HARLEIAN MSS. No. 1579, fol. 75.

would have beene contrued by many to the better parte, if this more strange proceeding had not ensued.

Hee shall desire our said dearest sifter to consider advifedly, how all men may conceive of fo uncouth and rare a forme, fo repougnant to the immediate fupremacie graunted by God to foveraigne princes; whose holy ordinance will not admit the fared diademe to bee profained, nor his hier power in any his anointed bee fubject to inferiors, nor thaire lawes, crownes, nor kingdomes, to be judged or difpofed uppon, at the appetite of fubjects; and that procedure may be thouchte mair ftrange, that be na lawe, fpetiallye within this Ile, verry fubjects felfs may be judged otherwife, but by the moft parte their peeris, and of equall rank and eftate.

Hee fhall alfoe declare unto our said dearest fifter, that haveing made fpeciall choyce of her amitie, and in affections preferred her till all others, and with the loffe of our neareft and well affected freindis, continued in all fenceritye towards her, omitting noe parte of a well devoted freind and brother, wee did alwayes expect, and by good defert have merited, the like correfpondency and kindneffe on her parte, whereby fhee might have beene moved to a freindly confideracioun, how far fuch proceedings might concerne us, as well in honour as otherwayes, and to have abfteyned from all things importing our difhonour or prejudice.

Hee fhall desire our dearest fifter to confider, what conftuccion has beene made of this pretendit partes, and what privitie this fame may bee thought of our foe fecret amitye foe lately contracted, noe parte of the said pretended protection haveing at any tyme beene imparted unto noe other, by letter or meffaige, but they have detected, without our knowledge or privitie, notwithstanding the fpeciall intereft we had therein, fo well knowne to herfelfe, and the fincere obfervacions of our foe ftrait freindfhip could not permitt nothinge to be over feene or neglected, in a matter of fo greate weight; and if the fame had been tymely fignified unto us, wee fhould have foe fatisfyed her in honour and fecretie for them both, that fhee fhould not have needed to have recourfe to any foe dangerous remedie, and hard effects, as are likely to fall out.

Hee fhall expound to our dearest fifter, what juft greife wee haue had of the rigor intended againft our dearest Mother, and that no

thinge in the world is more dear unto us then herselfe and life, by whom wee received life; what duty wee owe unto her, both by the inuiolable law of God, and streaitest bond of nature betweene us; and wee would rather yeeld our owne life then offend in a pointe soe carefully recommended by God, and soe highly touching us in honour; hartily desiring her to enter into deep consideracion, what becometh us of duety and nature, and what shee herself would do being in our place. Hee shall therefore most earnestly deale with her, and in our behalfe intercede with all instance, that our said dearest Mothers life, alwayes soe deare unto us, may bee spared, that wee may thereby have occasion the better to continue in our present deuotions towards our said dearest sifter, and reape this fruite of our desires and expectations. Remonstrating therewithal what a blemish it would be to her reputacion to deuide so far from her accustomed clemency, and naturally mildnesse of her sexe, as imbrew herselfe into her owne blood, by taking the life of her nearest cousin, beinge alsoe of the like calling and sexe to herselfe; besides the iust discontentment of many great Princes, who may bee moved thereby, and diuers other inconveniencies, that such rigor may breed, which will not impart that security to her owne person and estate that some would perswade her may bee confirmed by extremitie.

If it shalbe objected unto you, that the preservacion of our dearest Motheris life carries with it any apparent danger to our dearest sifter the Queen of England—for albeit, our said dearest Mother may be kept under restraint, and perhaps stayed from practising moyen and intelligence, yet that wilbe but gayning tyme unto her, and nather her own esperance, nor the hope of her partisans, thereby removed, who, for preferment, revenge, or pretended religion, ar about to conspire against our sayd dearest sifter, but wilbee still lying in waite, attending opportunity and occasions to attein unto their designes—you may answer, her dealing and allegeit attempts (giff ony have beene) seemis to have proceeded of a dispaire our said dearest Mother had conceived, by long and streight imprisonment, and a womanly feare, deeply apprehending danger of her life; and, (as all captives naturally reclaiming liberty, has solisited for liberty), soe as shee might move, and hes beene recommended by some of a contrary opi-

nion and disposicion of our said dearest sifter, to shunne her perill, and seek her delivery: The most fitt and sure expedient for the indempnitie of our said dearest sifter and estett of this realme, shalbe by putting her to libertie, out of the realme of England, upon security and joynt obligations of the Princes of her kin, freindshippe and alyance, that nothing shalbee directly or indirectly attempted by her, or any of her adherents or favorites, against our dearest sifter or her estate; foe shall both will and power to annoy be removed, and the cause ceasing, foe shall the effect.

If it shalbee objected, that the sparing of our dearest Motheris life shall breed perill to the true Christian religion and professors thereof, ye may answer, It must needes produce the very contrary effect, and cheifely within this Ile: For that such as indeede meene the subvercion of the true religion, would ayde themselves in their enterprises, by practising quarrell for her restraint and danger, and for her respect, like to bee assisted by her favorites within this Ile, quhilk they account their most important forte, if our dearest Mothers death might bee procured in any forte. So by her preservation and liberty, their quarrell and cheife injury shalbee removed, and, consequentlye, more security of religion and quiet to the whole Ile inshew; and bee the contrary, by her death, a more just quarrell may bee thereby pretended, and they and their adherents and favorites more eagerly incenced to a more cruell desire of revenge, wherein they would assure themselves of our ayde and concurrence, who haue the cheife interest and shame by her death.

If it bee objected, that the preservation of our dearest Motheris life, after the pretended condemnation, will either argue the indignitie of the sentence, or a feare in our dearest sifter, whereby she is moved to absteyne from putting the same to further execution, ye may answer, It will breed fayme, prais, and imortal glory to our said dearest sifteris name, for her prudency, mildenes, and naturall clemency, proceeding onely of her owne accorde, beside and against the advise and deliberacion of them who, seeking her blood to settle her estate, gives occasion of greater unquietnes thereunto, and will breed to her a number of enemys, and common misreporte. And if our dearest Motheris life bee taken, it will plainly

appeare to proceede of feare and paffions, and bee demed of all men *potius vindicta quam iustitia*.

If the danger of the affociates bee opponit, ye may answer, *functi sunt officio*. And thouche our sayd dearest Mother, being alway alive, may be thoughte formidable unto them, shee shalbee altogether gained by the clemency of our said dearest sifter, what with so great praise as shee shall acquire thereby, and fuertie of her persone, wee will assure they will prefer to their particulare dreid our oune future event, spetially by occasion of her, who, by nature, cannot have long continuance.

If it bee objected, that by her death factions, and such as carrye bouldned hartes, shall lacke one head on whom to depende, ye may answer, Her deathe, by likelyhood, will rather increase then terrifie, and rather stirr upp then quenche factions, and move and inflame then settle and mittigate boldned hartes. And if force or factions doe remaine, it wilbee easie for them to finde a conductor, more to bee doubted, then an afflicted woman, of unsound health and weak and diseased body, who, uppon present security and sure capitulacions, being out of the realme of England, is no wayes to be feared, and appearantly will haue no desire, nor possible no power to anoye.

He shall also informe our dearest sifter, *quæ sunt nobis undique angustiae, et quam ancipiti distrahimur*, our naturall deutie and honour pressing us on the one parte, and the care we have of our said dearest sifter, to whom wee are entirely devoted, on the t'other, and above all, our zeale to trew religion, whereupon both our states are settled; alsoe our said dearest sifteris persone and estate, by all likelyhood, may be put in full security, by joynt and generall bands, obligacions, and pledges of such Princes as will interpone their faith and security with our dearest Mother, that shee beeing delivered to any who wilbee alwayes answerable, upon his faith and perill of the hostages, that she shall, neither directly nor indirectly, deale, practise, nor attempte against our said dearest sifteris person and estate. Soe, although shee would violatt her faith, and forfeit the benefites of her liberty and life, yet wee cannot suspect shee will, beeing deprived of all force and money, and



lacking the assistance and good will of those from whom shee expected the greatest ayde, and all best affected unto her, shee shalbee able to doe no harme of herself, and shall incurr the wrath of all such as has been kinde, and given their faith and estates for her; and unquestionably our dearest susteris person shalbe in security, and her realme free from practises and attemptacions, and all the dangerous designes prevented, of such as effect the change of religion within this Ile.

If none of all these perswading argumentis be thought sufficient, ye shall, with all instance, presse our dearest suster to set downe, by advise of her wisest and best affected Councillours, such forme of security as shee and they shall thinke sufficient, or possible, or conveniently may be advised, whereunto wee will not onely yeeld for our selfe, but also to our best endeavour to obtaine the performance thereof of all others, with whom shee will capitulate in this behalfe; protesting before God, the life of our dearest suster is no less deare unto us, in all respects, then the life of our dearest Mother, or our owne.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS HONOURABLE FREIND, MR ARCH.  
DOUGLAS, EMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE OF SCOT-  
LAND, TOWARDIS THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, I mett a pacquet of yours yesterday at four in the morning at Verderbie, containing an answer of that I send by Restabris, [Restalrig?] bot all I remit to meiting. For my awin pairt, I assure you, I am as you left me. Marie, to one pairt of your letter, I must answer, quhere ye say that I unfit threatning, if the Queen of Scotlands lyf was taken, that ye would dea a banisfit man; by my treuthe, I unfit it as no threatning, but advertised you quhat the King sayd; and in that same letter I vrot to you quhat ves spoken of my self, so that if it ves a threatning, I threatnit my self in lyk manner. Now, Sir, I am come heir at his Majesties command, I

<sup>1</sup> From MURDIN'S State Papers, p. 575.

fweir unto you, agenst my vil, durst I have sayd nay. For that I am to abyde Sir Robert Melvin, who is to be at me vithin two days, for I left him at Morpeth, I mynd to stay at Vare. So that I think meitest ye and Villiam Keythe effey quhat hir Majestie thinks of it, and thereafter send me vord, if I meit not with you, quhat is her mynd; for I have no command to speik with any til he be vith me, nether vil I do it, for sic reasons as ye shall know at meiting. Bot I let you know, and ye may aslur all thair, that our commiffion is verie honourable and modest. For my awin particular, I have vrottin to Mr Sec. Valsingham ane offre, bot becaus my tyme permittis not, I pray you to see the letter send to him. In the mid tyme speik hardely to the Queen, that I think she has not usit me according to hir promis, feeling this is the second time she has suspected me vithout cause. Quhair she sayis, she knowis more of me nor ye do; by God, I say this fare, if she euer knew me do vrong, it ves for that I enterid forder for hir service than good reason permittit. Bot all this to meiting, and committis you to God.

Your loving freind,

MASTER OF GRAY.

From Stamford this 25th of  
December, 1586.

God villing, I shall be at Vare the morrow be noon. His Majestie vrot efter me to advertife you and Villie Keythe to crave audience, quhen ye hard of Sir Robertis coming and myn, and if neid cravis it, that I should crave presence vithout Sir Robert; bot that I vill not do vithout a verie extreim necessitie. So I pray you to let me know of all maiteres.

#### A MEMORIAL FOR HIS MAJESTY BY THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

It will please your Majesty, I have tho't meeter to set down all things

<sup>1</sup> This and the following three articles are taken from the Appendix to Robertson's History of Scotland. Dr Robertson printed them from the original MSS., at that time in the collection of the late Sir Alexander Dick, and now in the possession of Sir George

as they occur, and all advertifements as they came to my ears, then jointly in a lettre.

I came to Vare the 24th of Dec. and fent to William Keith and Mr Archibald Douglas to advertife the Queen of it, like as they did at their audience. She promifed the Queen your Majefty's mother's life fhould be fpared till we were heard. The 27th, they came to Vare to me, the which day Sir Robert came to Vare, where they fhewed us how far they had already gone in their negociation; but, for that the difcourfe of it is fet down in our general letter, I remit me to it, only this far I will testify unto your Majefty, that William Keith hath ufed himfelf right honeftly and wifely till our coming, refpecting all circumftances, and chiefly his colleague his dealing, which indeed is not better than your Majefty knows already.

The 29th of Dec<sup>r</sup>. we came to London, where we were no ways friendly received, nor after the honeft fort it has pleafed your Majefty ufe her ambaffadors; never man fent to welcome or convey us. The fame day we underftood of Mr de Bellievre his leave taking; and for that the cuftom permitted not, we fent our excuses by Mr George Young.

The 1st day of January, William Keith and his colleague, according to the cuftom, fent to crave our audience. We received the anfwer contained in the general letter, and could not have anfwer till the 6th day. What was done that day your Majefty has it in the general, yet we was not out of efperance at that time, albeit we received hard answers.

The 8th day we fpeak with the Earl of Leicefter, where our conference was, as is fet down in the general. I remarked this, that he that day faid plainly, the detaining of the Queen of Scotland prifoner was for that ſhe pretended a fucceffion to this crown. Judge then by this what is tho't of your Majefty, as ye ſhall hear a little after.

The 9th day we fpeak with the French ambaffador, whom we find very plain in making to us a wife difcourfe of all his proceedings; and

**Warrender of Lochend, Bart.** It is evident that Dr Robertson has modernised the language, which made it desirable to collate them with the originals. Application was therefore made to Sir George Warrender; but it appears that the manuſcripts have been unfortunately miſlaid.

Mr de Bellievre we thanked him in your Majesty's name, and opened such things as we had to treat with this Queen, save the last point, as more largely set down by our general.

It is tho't here, and some friends of your Majesty's advised me, that Bellievre his negotiation was not effectual, and that the resident was not privy to it, as indeed I think is true; for since Bellievre his parting, there is a talk of this Chasteauneuf his servants taken with his whole papers and pacquets, which he was sending in France, for that they charge him with a conspiracy of late against the Queen here her life. It is alledged his servant has confessed the matter, but whom I shall trust I know not, but till I see proof I shall account him an honest man, for indeed so he appears, and one (without doubt) who hath been very instant in this matter. I shew him that the Queen and Earl of Leicester had desired to speak with me in private, and craved his opinion; he gave it freely that he tho't it meetest: I shew him the reason why I communicate that to him, for that I had been suspected by some of her Majesty's friends in France to have done evil offices in her service, that he should be my witness that my earnest dealing in this should be a sufficient testimony that all was lyes, and that this knave Naue, who now had betrayed her, had in that done evil offices. He desired me, seeing she saw only with other folks eyes, that I should no ways impute it to her, for the like she had done to himself by Naue his persuasion. I answered he should be my witness in that.

The 9th day we sent to court to crave audience, which we got the 10th day. At the first, she said, a thing long looked for should be welcome when it comes; I would now see your Master's offers. I answered, no man makes offers but for some cause; we would, and like your Majesty, first know the cause to be extant for which we offer, and likewise that it be extant till your Majesty has heard us. I think it be extant yet, but I will not promise for an hour, but you think to shift in that sort. I answered, we mind not to shift, but to offer from our Sovereign all things that with reason may be; and in special, we offered as is set down in our general: all was refused and tho't nothing. She called on the three that were in the house, the Earl of Leicester, my Lord Admiral, and Chamberlain,

and very despitefully repeated all our offers in presence of them all. I opened the last part, and said, Madam, for what respect is it that men deal against your person or estate for her cause? She answered, because they think she shall succeed to me, and for that she is a papist. Appearingly, said I, both the causes may be removed. She said she would be glad to understand it. If, Madam, said I, all that she has of right of succession were in the King our sovereign's person, were not all hope of papists removed? She answered, I hope so. Then, Madam, I think the Queen, his mother, shall willingly demit all her rights in his person. She answered, She hath no right, for she is declared unhail. Then, I said, if she have no right, appearingly the hope ceases already, so that it is not to be feared that any man attempt for her. The Queen answered, But the papists allow not our declaration. Then let it fall, says I, in the King's person by her assignation. The Earl of Leicester answered, She is a prisoner, how can she demit? I answered, The demission is to her son, by the advice of all the friends she has in Europe; and in case, as God forbid, that any attempt cuttiss the Queen here away, who shall party with her to prove the demission or assignation to be ineffectual, her Son being opposite party and having all the princes her friends for him, having bonded for the efficacy of it with his Majesty of before. The Queen made as she could not comprehend my meaning, and Sir Robert opened the matter again; she yet made as though she understood not. So the Earl of Leicester answered, that our meaning was, that the King should be put in his Mother's place. Is it so, the Queen answered, then I put myself in a worse case than of before: By God's passion, that were to cut my own throat; and, for a dutchy or an earldom to yourself, you or such as you would cause some of your desperate knaves kill me: No, by God, he shall never be in that place. I answered, He craves nothing of your Majesty, but only of his Mother. The Earl of Leicester answered, that were to make him party to the Queen my mistress. I said, he will be far more party, if he be in her place through her death. She would stay no longer, but said she would not have a worse in his Mother's place; and said, Tell your King what good I have done for him in holding the Crown on his head since he was born, and that I mind to keep the league that now stands between us, and if he break it shall be a double fault: and with this

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mind to have bidden us a farewell; but we achievit.<sup>1</sup> And I speak craving of her that her life may be spared for 15 days; she refused. Sir Robert craved for only eight days; she said not for an hour; and so geid her away. Your Majesty sees we have delivered all we had for offers, but all is for nothing, for she and her Council has laid a determination that they mind to follow forth; and I see it comes rather of her Council than herself, which I like the worse; for without doubt, Sir, it shall cut off all friendship ye had here. Although it were that once they had meant well to your Majesty, yet, remembering themselves that they have meddled with your Mother's blood, good faith, they cannot hope great good of yourself, a thing in truth I am sorry for. Further, your Majesty may perceive by this last discourse of that I proponit, if they had meant well to your Majesty, they had used it other wise than they have done, for reason has bound them. But I dare not write all. I mind something to speak in this matter, because we look shurly our letters shall be truffit by the way.

For that I see private credit nor no means can alter their determination, although the Queen again and the Earl of Leicester has desired to speak with me in particular; I mind not to speak, nor shall not; but assuredly shall let all men see that I in particular was no ways tyed to England, but for the respect of your Majesty's service. So albeit, at this time, I could not effectuate that I desired, yet my upright dealing in it shall be manifested to the world. We are, God willing, then to crave audience, where we mind to use sharply our instructions, which hitherto we have used very calmly, for we can, for your Honour's cause, say no less for your Majesty than the French ambassador has said for his master.

So I pray your Majesty consider my upright dealing in your service, and not the effect, for had it been doable by any, I might have here had credit; but being I came only for that cause, I will not my credit shall serve here to any further purpose. I pray God preserve your Majesty, and send you a true and sincere friendship. From London, this 12th of Jan. 1586.

I understand the Queen is to send one of her own to your Majesty.

<sup>1</sup> Dr Robertson explains this, 'Finished arguing upon this point.'

TO THE RIGHT HON. MY LORD VICE-CHANCELLOR AND SECRETARY TO  
HIS MAJESTY, FROM THE MASTER OF GRAY.

My Lord, I fend you theſe lines, with this incloſed, to his Maſteſty, whereby your Lordſhip ſhall underſtand how matters goes here. And before all things, I pray your Lordſhip move his Maſteſty to reſpect my diligence, and not the effect in this negociation; for I ſwear, if it had been for the crown of England to myſelf, I could do no more; and let not unfriends have advantage of me, for the world ſhall ſee that I loved England for his Maſteſty's ſervice only. I look ſhortly to find your Lordſhip friend as ye made promiſe, and, by God, I ſhall be to you if I can. William Keith and I devyſet, if matters had gone well, to have run a courſe that your Lordſhip might have here been in credit and others diſappointed, but now I will do for you as for myſelf; which is to care for no credit here, for in conſcience they mean not honeſtly to the King, our ſovereign, and if they may, he will go the get his Mother is gone or ſhortly to go; therefore, my Lord, without all kind of ſcruple, I pray you to adviſe him the beſt is not this way. They ſay here, that it has been ſaid by one who heard it from you, that ye deſired not the King and England to agree, becauſe it would rack the noblemen, and gave an example of it by King James the Fourt. I answered in your name, that I was affured you had never ſpoken it. Mr Archibald is the ſpeaker of it, who I affure your Lordſhip has been a poiſon in this matter, for they lean very mickle to his opinion. He cares not, he ſays, for at length the King will be fain to deal this way, either by fair means or neceſſity, ſo that when he deals this courſe he is affured to be welcome. To ſet down all that is paſt of the like purpoſes, it would conſume more paper than I have here, ſo I defer it to meeting. There is a new conſpiracy alledged againſt the Queen to have been intended, for the French ambaffador reſident three of his men taken, but I think in the end it ſhall prove nothing. Mr Stafford, who is ambaffador for this Queen in France, is touched with it; his

brother is taken here. Always it has done this harm in our negociation, that all this council would not move this Queen to meddle with the Queen of Scotland's blood, till this invention was found forth. I remit all other things to the inclosed. We minded to have sent to his Majesty a discourse, which we have set down of all our proceedings since our hither coming; but we are surely advertized that the bearer is to be trusted by the way for our packets, so that we defer it till our own coming: this I have put in a privy part beside the packet. We shall, I think, take leave on Fryday the 13th day, where we mind exactly to follow the rigour of our instructions, for it cannot stand with the King's honour that we say less than the French ambassador, which was, *Le Roy mon maitre ne peut moins faire que se resentir*. So that about the 24th I think we shall, God willing, be at home, except that some stay come which we look not for. The Queen and the Earl of Leiceſter has desired to speak with me. I refused save in presence of my colleagues, by reason I see a determination which particular credit cannot help, and I crave no credit but for that cause. It will please your Lordship retire the inclosed from his Majesty and keep it. So, after my service commended to yourself and bedfellow, I commit you to God. From London, the 12th of Jan. 1586.

TO THE KINGIS MAJESTY, FROM SIR ROBERT MELVILL.

It may please your Majesty, since the direction of our former letters, we had audience, and her Majesty appeared to take our overtures in good part in presence of her Council; albeit no offers could take place with them, having taken resolution to proceed with extremity. Not the less, it pleased her Majesty to desire us to stay for two days on taking our leave, until she had advised upon our propositions; since which time, her Majesty is become more hard by some letters (as we are informed) has come from Scotland, making some hope to believe that your Majesty takes not



this matter to heart, as we know the contrary in effect, and had of before removed the like opinion out of her Majesty's mind, which by finifter information was credited. Their reports has hindered our commiffion, and abused this Queen, fearing in like manner we shall be stayed until answer come from Scotland by fuch perfon as they have intelligence of. And albeit that it will be well enough known to all men how heavily your Majesty takes this proceeding to heart, the truth is, that they have by this occasion fo perfuaded the Queen, that it is like to hinder our negotiation. As also Alchinder Steward is to be directed in their party, by our knowledge, who has awantyt more of his credit than I believe he may perform; and we willed him to defist from this dealing, faying it does harm, and he is not meet for that purpose, remitting to your Majesty's good difcretion to take order herein; as we shall be answerable to your Majesty not to omit any point we have in charge, as the truth is, the Master of Graye has behaved himself very uprightly and discreetly in this charge, and evil tayne with be divers in these parts who were of before his friends. We have been behalding to the menstrals who has born us best company, but has not been troubled with others. Wylzeme Kethe hath left nothing undone that he had in charge. As for Mr Archibald, he has promifed at all times to do his dewoyr, wherein he shall find true report made to your Majesty. Craving pardon of your Majesty that I have been fo tedious, after I have kiffed your Majesty's hand, I humbly take my leave. Praying God to grant your Majesty many good days and happy, in whose protection I commit your Majesty. At London, the 26th of Jan. 1586.

SIR, Albeit Master George<sup>1</sup> has not been in commiffion, he is not inferior in his service to any of us, as well by his good advice and diligent care he takes for the advancement of your service, wherein we have not been a little furthered.

<sup>1</sup> Mr George Young.

TO THE KINGIS MAJESTY, FROM THE MASTER OF GRAY AND  
SIR ROBERT MELVILL.

PLEASE it your Majesty, in the last audience we had, since our last advertisement by William Murray, we find her Majesty at the refusing our offers something mitigated, and inclined to consider more deeply of them. Before we got leave, at our reasoning, certain of the council, namely, my Lord Leicefter, Sir Christopher Haton, my Lord Hunfdon, and my Lord Hawart, being present in the chamber, gave little shew of any great contentment to have her from her former resolution, now cassin in perplexitie what she should do; always we left her in that state, and since have daily pressed conference with the whole Council, which to this hour we have not yet obtained. This day we have sent down to crave our leave. The greatest hinder which our negociation has found hitherto, is a perswasion they have here, that either your Majesty deals superficially in this matter, or that with time ye may be moved to digest it; which, when with great difficulty we had expugnit, we find anew that certain letters written to them of late from Scotland has found some place of credit with them in our contrare. So that resolving now to clear them of that doubt by a special message, they have made choice of Sir Alexander Stewart to try your Highness's meaning in it, and to persuade your Majesty to like of their proceedings, where from no terror we can say out unto him is able to divert him; he has given out that he has credit with your Majesty, and that he doubts not to help this matter at your Highness's hand. If he come there that errand, we think your Majesty will not oversee the great disgrace that his attempts shall give us here, if he be not tane order with before that he be further heard; and if so be that any other be directed, (as our intelligence gives us there shall), our humble suit is to your Majesty, that it may please your Highness to hear of us what we find here, and at what point we leave this matter with her Majesty, before that they find accidence. The causes whereof remitting to our private letters, we commit your Majesty for the present to God's eternal protection. From London, this 21st of Jan. 1586.

NOTES OF A LETTER TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

WONDERS King James 6. should take so hainoufly þe death of his Mother, as to meditate revenge, being contrary to his interest and wisdom. First, þe quarrel being unjust, and no successe can be expected in such a case; þat sentence being thought necessary for the Queenis safety and þat of þe land, he opposes himself to þe judgement of God, whose ministers they were in giving that sentence. Scotland not able to make head against England, it being stronger, and þe former weaker, by þe want of þe assistance of France, who are not so fond of þe old allies since England has lost its footing in France. Assistance from oþer foreign Princes not much to be depended upon, both being tedious, small, and uncertain, as the experience of þe Kingis Mother may discover. England need not fear all the attempts if attacked, which, by the conjunction of Holland and Zealand, has gott such strength by sea; and if þe King should invade England and be defeated, taken prisoner, this realm, so provoked, may disable him from þe Succession, as by law they may; oþerwise if he behave himself with þat moderation þat becomes a Prince of his perfections and education, which is also necessary in this remedyless accident, and by this kindness to Queen Elizabeth, who has so well deserved at his hands, he will win þe hearts of þe whole kingdom. If war should ensue, (now in a manner extinct), þe old quarrels and animosity would be revived to þat degree, þat þe English would never accept him for their Prince, but especially þe nobility would be irreconcilable, by whose sentence Queen Mary suffered, and would never suffer a Prince to rule over þem whom they have reason to fear would call þer Honours lives in question. Besides, þer are but two potentates upon whom he can depend for assistance to take present possession of þe crown, viz. France and Spain; and who would advise him to apply to eþer of them, discover both want of fidelity and

<sup>1</sup> SLOANE MSS. in Brit. Museum, No. 3199, art. 65, p. 112.

judgement: And it is not politick to trust to those who will be jealous of his greatness, as a hindrance to her desires and designs, which is the case unto those 2 Princes who are enemies of King James religion, seeing that bred a difficulty in his Mothers negotiations, and were only favorable because they hoped that she, being at liberty, by her wisdom, might convert him; if that did not succeed, the King of Spain was to be her heir; how much more will they be jealous of him, who is a man, and more powerful, by the union of the two Crowns? It is contrary to the interest of France to strengthen and make more powerful a King of England, who by so doing may be the more able to dispute his title to France itself; the French King will with great difficulty be brought to engage in a foreign war, *it being well known that that King, against his will, was engaged in the Civill war by those of the House of Guise, for the which he has good cause to complain*, whatsoever shew he makes. No doubt he hateth them, and wishes them confusion in heart. And if the French, by a pretext of King James quarrel, transport the war out of their own country into this island, King James would only be used as an instrument to serve a turn, as his predecessors heretofore have been, to the effusion of much Scotch blood, and the spoil of that realm. Neither is it the interest of the French King to advance the affairs of a king related in blood to the House of Guise, by whose assistance their design to possess that crown, and to depose the King, (a matter by him greatly doubted), may the better take effect. For the Spaniard, his age and unsettled estate should rather incline him to peace; if otherwise, his ambition cannot but be dangerous to your King his practices, his power, his colour of right; for it is well known how he had figured himself an Empire over this part of the world, what plots he laid for the compassing thereof; he designed the conquest of this land in Queene Maryes time, he being then our King in right of his wife; the conquest was fully concluded afterwards under colour of Religion, and by the Prince of Orange, then of the Privy Council, was since repeated. He now pretendeth himself the first Catholick of the blood royall of England, being before reputed, though falsely, heir of the House of Lancaster, as by the pedigrees and books published by the Bishop of Ross and others in his favour, may appear. It was practised, even during the late King of Scotis life, by the Jesuits and

divers gentlemen, to advance him to be Crown by the way of election, to be prejudice of her and her Lord, as meetest to restore be Roman authority both here and elsewhere, though they did not altogether think of your Masters conversion, they were assured he would not part with be supremacy. We may easily judge how far he would prevail of be donation made of this Crown by the late Queen of Scots, in her letters promised to be confirmed in her last Will and Testament, whereof his Ambassador at Paris, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, thinks not already to make open vaunt; and what herself hath practised to put effect with her servants, since her condemnation, God knows. Lastly, being be strongest, what should let him to dispose of be prey as he listeth. And yet by change of his religion, he shall be able to mend be matter is very improbable, considering be same private respects of beir own estates and pretensions will still remain; and for the King of Spains part, be usurpation of be kingdom of Portugall giveth evident proof that his ambition cannot be restrained when he hath be advantage, by any bonds of religion, honour, or justice; and be simple A. . . . poor Don Antonio has received, notwithstanding he is a catholique, doth sufficiently shew what is to be hoped for, that ought happen to your Sovereign in like case.

But contrariwise, be Kings revolt from religion (which God defend) is likely to be judged a want of religion rather than a change, and would be his utter overthrow, and discredit in all Christendom; for as it shall lose him his native and faithful subjects, and well willers both at home and abroad, so will it but win him hollow hearted friends, in respect that no appearance can be had of his constancy in any religion, if it shall appear that upon stomach he shall turn from his God and that Religion, wherein he was extraordinarily instructed; neither can he presently expect to be inheritour of his Motheris party and credit here, which, notwithstanding, was not sufficient to hold all the Catholicks of England united.

And for his honour, it is sufficiently secured, seeing he mediated so earnestly for her life to be left; but she being now executed for such good and necessary causes, it will be more for his honour to see how he can moderate his passion by reason.

And so it is wished by all good men, both for the common good of this island, and for his own greatness every way, that he were advised, and to thank God, who hath delivered him by this means of a great burden of conscience, which otherwise must have been upon him, as at whose hands God would have looked for a revenge of his Fathers blood, so innocently and horribly spilt, by her consent and privy, not to speak of the goodness of God towards him, in establishing his throne, continually undermined by her practises; the end whereof will be, if he be well counselled, the beginning of all happenings here, instead of being sent as hostage or ward to Pope or Spanyard, as he said Quene would have made him, he may absolutely and quietly reign.

Thus you see how the care and desire I have of the continuance of amity and peace between ye 2 kingdoms, has carried me into a long discourse. I trust you will do all the good offices which on your part shall be possible, considering that our satisfaction in this behalf shall be joined with the service of God, your own Sovereign, and Country, which thereby shall reap the blessed fruits of peace.

TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

MY GUID LORD, notwithstandinge your Lordship be sufficientlie prouydit of frindschipe in his parts, and of his whom wit, moyen, and experiens serwis them, till informe your Lordship better of the present astate of this contrie than I, yet, neuertheless, I thocht it just well be this present to make the guid will I haif to do your Lordships honour and service manifest and knowine onto your Honour, quhair of your Lordship shall haif his prais as my small walew maey extend to. I haif writtine to Mr Archibald Douglas at lenche, the werrie astate of matters at his present, quhilk I doubt not he will communicate with your Lordship: onely will I desire and fair-

<sup>1</sup> From the original, Harl. MSS. No. 292, fo. 48. This and the two following letters marked 876 †† are stated in the printed catalogue to be written by a 'Scots Intelligencer.'

warne yowir Lordship to be ware of the Secretarie, qwha traevells, be all moyen, to divest Ingland of all kynd of frindschipe in þir pairts, and be þat moyen to mak yow unaebill to do aeny thing in þis contrie by him; quhairbe, togither with his graetnes with the King, he compellit France to feik his frindschipe, and sua to debaische his ennemies, and transffer þe credit of all in his owine persone; for assuritlie, if he dwrft hazarde, or saw aeny apirans, he wald nocht seis afs yeit to preis þe Kings Maiestie to goe þe Fraence cours; bot feing his Maiestie ȳperways affectionat, he folwis his hwmowr, to mak his profeit be all occasions, for, afs he says him self, he lipins for no gwid at þair hands, and is assurit þat þe King will be contraenit to leif that cours before ane yeir be past. For the quhilk cowrfs it fall nocht be gwide, þat ye leif of yowir deling with þe Master of Gray as yeit, qwha, sens his homcwmne, is graetwmlie affectionat yowir way; and alls, þat it will be no small brydill to hawld þe Secretaire in ordwr. And in respect þat þe Master dar nocht deill him self with none of yow directle, in respect of þe evill bruit he haes incwrrit for his last deling with Inglande, it war gwide he war afs yeit delt with specialie be yowir Lordship, in qwhom he haes no small trwste, if it war bot to hawld of his will. He haes desyrit me to writ to Mr Archibald in þis pwrpois, for ȳperwais I am no ways plaen with him, þerfor sik letters as is directit to him send þem with myn, for so haes he desyrit to be done, and I fall mak þe answeris to be delywerit to Sir Haenrie Widdrington. He is entering at þis sam tyme in confederacie with the Erll of Huntlie, Crafwirde, Montrois, Rothes, Maxwell, and my Lord Clowdē of Paesley, qwha ar all for þe moift pairt catholikis, affectionat to þe Fraencē cōwrs, and ennemies to þe Lords þat cam in at Stirlie. The Master, afs he says to me, dois þis to paertie þe Secretarie, qwha dois þat he can for þe present to wrack him, for all þir nobill men invyis þe Secretaries credit. Always quhaitfoever near effect þis mater fall tak, yowir Lordship fall be forsein þerwith, togither with all þat Tomas Tyrie haes done in France for þe Master of Gray, quhoufone he fall cwmne home, quhilk, afs þe Master is aduertifit, will be schortlie; sua þat þær fall be nothing done heir in aenie forrein cowrfs bot yowir Lordship fall be dewlie acqwentit þerwith. He is nocht till infist diligentlie with þe Kingis Maiestie, nochtwithstandine of aeny thing þat is past,

and yowir traevell will nocht be in waen, for his Maiestie will goe yowir way for aens, in spyt of all theis pat will infist in þe contraer. My Lord Hamiltone and Boidwell ar þe graetaest ennemies ye haif heir; bot ye haif þat awantage, þat þay are nocht ye wyfest in þe warld. I haif newer gottine woird afs yeit from yowir Lordship, quherof I merwell. I am constraenit to mak my continwall residens in Court, or wþerways I wald be improfitable in þir twrns. Remittine þe rest to yowir Lordshipis discretione, with my affectionat commendations of service to yowir Lordshipis felf, committs yowir Lordship in Gods holy protectione. From Edinbroche þe thride day of Maerche, 1586.

Yowir Lordships awin to be comanditt.

To my werrie gwid Lorde,  
Sir Francis Walsingham,  
Secretarie to the Qwins Maiestie  
of Inglande.

TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

MY GWID LORDE, sens þe closine of my letter wnto yowir Lordship, hawing founde þe Master of Gray greatwmlie alterat and chaengit of his former gwidwill and intentione professit to Inglande, afs in particwlar, he haed impairtit to myself þe nicht of befoir; qwhairat I merwelit greatwmlie, and þat in respect of his inconstante deling and fuddean mwttatione, and being werrie inquisitive to knaw and understande qwhait he haed for it, (afs in all things he is plaen with me), so did he dilaet at lenth unto me þe hoill cawis of þis his haestie wraeithe and passionat deling, confessine to me þat he haed wretine to my Lord of Leicester befoir his last cwmine in Inglande, and þat in maeters of aestate and graet importance, quhilk ar

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Harl. MSS. No. 292, fo. 50.



nocht nefffair to be reherfit at pis present; quhilk wreits my Lord of Leicester delywerit to Sir Alexander Stewart, to haif presentit to pe Kingis Maiestie of Scotlande, and pat for his disgrace only, afs in plaen terms he spak to Alexander, quhilk woirds he haes nocht left unreherfit. For pe quhilkis wreits, suppois he haed his warrand of pe Kingis Maiestie, yiet pe maeter itself was swa odiws, pat my Lord of Leicester did qwhait in him laey to perrall pe Masteris lyf, standing, honwr, and reputatione for ewer; and nocht only pis, bot pe Qwins maiestie hir self communicat fik purpofis to Sir Alexander of pe Master, giffine him an expres commissioun to impaire pe samings to his Maiestie, pat if Sir Alexander haed nocht disclofit pe secrecie of all pir plattis, the Master haed bein in no les parrell, pan he and all pat lwiffis him ar of aweill. Thir maeters war rewelit be Sir Alexander this Setterday, the thrid of Marche, I hawine clofit my letters pe nicht of befor, and delywerit pem to Capitaen Carwell. I maey heir mak trew recoird of pir things, hawine hard Sir Alexander my cwsinge, and read pe Masters letters, being delywerit be Sir Alexander to pe Master; qwhairat I was not lytill abaishite at my Lords wysdome, qwha culd nocht conjectur of pe mans naturall better, quhilk is knowine till all pe woird heir, and enters pe self in all his actions; yeit I haue infistit sua far with pe Master pat he is content till differ and superceid his jwgment of this maeter till I fulde writ to Mr Archibald, afs I promisit to his Lordship to doe. Befoir my gwid Lord, faiuane yowir Lordshipis better awyfs and opinione, it war gwid my Lord Leicester fuld writ his excwsis to pe Master in thir things pat ar fallen out, afs I belif far by his expectatione, and pat yowir Lordship writ in pe Qwins pwrgatione, qwhairof Sir Alexander haes no prwif bot his awine sayine, quhilk is nocht with wfs werrie awtentik. Moir-ower, yowir Lordship will commwnicat pis maeter to Mr Archibald, and cawfs him writ to me afs if I haed wretine to him in pis maeter. I gif nocht my awyfs to yowir Lordship in pis maeter, but graet cawfs and mony gwid motiwes and confiderations, afs yowir Lordship fall knaw be tyme; for indeid I am aestemit participant of all his proceedings, sua that if he be falline, I can nocht gwidlie stande to do yowir Lordship aeny service or pleseir. Feir nocht of aeny thing pe Master can attempt agaenst yowir aesteit, for I fall be aebill to cawfs yow anticipat all his deseins, as yowir

Lordship fall haif þe prwif of my honestie, so will I howpe to be acknowlegit. I will pray yowir Lordship to cawfs returne Mr Archibalds answer of þis pwrpois to me with expeditione, togither with my Lord of Leicesters and yowir Lordships letters, if it seim expedient to yowir wifdome. I howpe schortlie till haif farder credit to do gwid officis for þe Kings Maiestie my maisters standing, and for continwing þe pæce and frindschipe betwixt the twa contris, qwhairinn I fall lack no gwidwill, sua far as my simpill moyen may extend. Sua, hawing presentit my hwmbill commendations of service unto yowir Lordships self, I leif yowir Lordship in Gods holy protectione. Frome Edinebroche, þe thride day of Maerche, 1586.

Your Lordships maist affectionat to be  
commandit with service,

876 ††

Thaer is nichtlie cartells tint, and pasquills affixit, agaenst the King and þe Lords of his Cownfall, prowokine him till ane rewenge of his Moperis dethe. It were best perfor þat maeters war hotlie handelit, for tym is preciws.

To my werrie gwid Lorde,  
Sir Francis Walsinghame,  
Secretaer to the Qwines Maiestie  
of Inglande.

ROBERT CARVYLE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSLINGAAM.<sup>1</sup>

RYGHTE HONOURABLE, my dutie remembred, these are to fertifie your

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Cotton MSS. Calig C. IX. fol. 171. This letter was first published in Chalmers' Life of Queen Mary. It is also included in the 'Excerpta Scotica,' 8vo., Edin. 1825, a volume of fugitive pieces relating to Scottish affairs; and again printed by Sir Henry Ellis in his collection of Original Letters, 8vo., 1827.

Honor, that I have bene in Scotland ever synce pe last of February, and coude get no dispathe untill Monday pe sixt of this instant, att nyne of the clock in the mornynge; and then I receyved (att th'ands of the Secretary, whoe rulethe the Courte) a letter to Mr Carie from hym, by warrante from pe Kings Maiestie, which was to this effecte; that he shoulde write that the Kinge wold receyve no Embassador as yet, partly by reason of his hevines and sorowynge for his Mother, and also for that he is not refolved that the Quenes Maiestie is so fory for his Mothers death as he was informed she was; and, further, because he cannot stave the rigor of his people, being wickedly bent and evel geven, as I bothe hard and sawe with myne eyes; for there is dayly libells sett vpp in open strete, and cast into the pulpit, boathe ageynst the Kinge himself, the Master of Gray, Mr Archibald Dowglas, and the preachers; and amongst the rest, iij<sup>th</sup> of this instant, there were two sett vpp at my lodginge very odious and detestable ageynst the Quenes Maiestie, the coppie wherof I haue sent you here inclosed; which two I toke of, and the one I gave to the Secretary to shewe the Kinge, the other Mr Robert Carye hath to send to my Lord Chamberleyne. And truly I fynd, for all this sturr, that the Secretary is very well inclined towards her Maiestie, and a favorer towards the mayntenaunce of peace and amitie, and the Kinge hymselfe also. But towching the sendinge awaye of Embassadors into other countries, they are not yet fully agreed; and towching the Master of Gray and his doings, your Honor shall heer more in Roger Ashton his packquet: and so, vntill my next, I humbly take leave, comyttynge your Honour now and ever to the protection of th' Almightye, trustinge you will accept my good will. Berwick, in haist, the vij<sup>th</sup> of Marche, 1586.

Your Honours to my power,

ROBERT CARVYLE.

POSTSCRIPT.—Curcell's man stands faste and firme, and is ready to be employed when I shall here from your Honour. It were good that the

Secretary were vfed, for he is very gret. Your Honour shall receyve a packquet from Roger Ashtone.

To the right honorable  
Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight,  
principall Secretary to the  
Quenes most excellent Maiestie.

(INCLOSURE.)

*Fruere pro funere fune.*

To Jesabell, that Englishe heure,  
Receyue this Scottishe cheyne,  
As presagies of her great malheur,  
For murthering of oure Quene.

The cheyne was a litle corde off hempe tied halterwise.

TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

MY LORD, I wreit wnto yowir Lordship in my last letters, fwme purpoifs  
concerning <sup>the Maister of Gray</sup> *maq thxomqf fr vfhk*, qwhairof I have gottine no anfwair  
as yeit, and therfoir will fuspend my jwgment of pat maeter till I heir  
yowir Lordships opinione in particwlar, alwayfs (*ut candide cum amicis  
agam*). Trew it is that he is become ane werrie great ennemie to yowir  
<sup>Quins maiestie, your contrie, and al your proceedings,</sup>  
*egxco thxqomxq, kfgf nscmfxxq, hcp hb kfgf dffnqpxcvo*, and thinks heir-

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Harleian MSS. Brit. Museum, No. 292, fol. 54. The secret writing is decyphered in another hand, written immediately above the cyphers as here given.

efter till follow fwirth his firft cowirs be all mins poffibill, and fua to gif no  
 occatione <sup>to the catholiks to mistrust of him,</sup> *mf maq nhmajbxyo mf txomfgom fr art*, qwha, as yeit, haes  
 no fik confidens in him as is requifit to effectwat aeny gwide twrne. For  
 the qwhilk cawfs, efter matwer deliberatione, aestiming his ftanding to con-  
 fift in doing of fume notable twrne, <sup>to the avansment of the catholik</sup> *ms maq hghcotqcm fr maq nhmajbxy*  
<sup>religione, or alterations of the present aesteit,</sup> *fqbxvxfq, ff hbmqfhmxfq fr maq dfqoqcm hqomqxm*, he accwmpaniet  
 me with his <sup>letters of credit to the Erl of Huntlie; qaha, being ane</sup> *bqmmqfo fr nfqpxm mf maq qfb fr agcmbxq; egah, lqxcv hcq*  
<sup>preceis catholik,</sup> *dfqnqxo nhmajbxy*, mislyks alfua of pe present aesteit and governement,  
 and haes the hoill nobill maen of this contrie bandit togither till affist, per-  
 feu, and defend with him, and he with pem, in all his and thaer acteis, fik  
 as <sup>Craferd Montrois Marischal Ogilvy Kaertnes Sutherlande Sal-</sup> *nfhrqfp tscmfxxo thfxonahb fxbgk yhqfmcqo ogmaqfbhcpq ohb-*  
<sup>tonne Elfinstone Forbes Gray,</sup> *msgcq qbrxcomsgcq rfflqo vfhk*, with pe graetest pairt of owr Hielands,  
 and all the barons and contrie maen. He offerit, in his letter and be me,  
 to lay ane plate (hawing his affistnce) <sup>to let our King out of thir</sup> *mf bqm fgm yxcv fgm fr maxf*  
<sup>maens hands, Majestie</sup> *thqco ahcpo*, and fo nocht only to mwif his *thxqomxq* to tak aerns agaenft  
<sup>Englande, quhairupone libertie of conciens suld neasisartie follou,</sup> *xcvbhcpq, egahxfgdscq bxlqfmq fr nfcnxqco ogbp cqooxohfbxq rfbbsg,*  
<sup>France,</sup>  
 bot alfua to perfwaid him to tak jwnay to *rfhcnq*, pat thereby all things  
 nicht attein to paer defyrit effectis. I traavelit with <sup>my lord Huntlie</sup> *tk bffp agcmbxq* in  
 this purpois, qwha was moir pan willing perto, and werrie cwriws to know  
 the <sup>forme of that plate</sup> *rfflq fr mahm dbhmq*; in particular promifen all kynd of affistnce to  
 be forderance of the faming pat cwlde be reqwryit. For the quhilk caws,  
 nocht hawing pat in commiffione, he wreit bak with me letters fwl of cre-  
 dit to <sup>the Maister of Gray,</sup> *maq thxomqf fr vfhk*, hawing promifit pat ane of his maift specialls,  
<sup>capitaen Kar, vehement catholik,</sup> *nhdarmhqc yhf*, qwha is ane *gqaqtqcm nhmajbxy*, fuld haif folwit me with  
<sup>Maister</sup>  
 expeditione, pat he and I nicht haif fpokine with pe *thxomqf* at lenthe in  
 pat purpois. Always at my bakcwmne maeters wafs alterat, and maen  
 pwt by paer dyet, pairtlie be his Maiestie rydinge wpone my Lord Max-

wall, and pairtly be the <sup>Maisters</sup> *thxomqfo pxxvfhqng*, qwha haes nocht bein at  
 court senn; and yeit he affuris me pat his disgraice is nothing els bot po-  
 licie to pleifs the <sup>Secretaer</sup> *oqnfqmhqf axo qccqtxq*, <sup>his ennemie,</sup> *hcx maxf bffpo hcxgo hcx thf*,  
 qwha haes alredie consaewit ane jalwfie agaenist him. The <sup>Plat</sup> *dbhm gho*,  
<sup>that the King sould have beine drauin to Dunfermling, accompaniet</sup>  
*mahm maq yxcv ofgbp ahgq lqxcq pfhgxc mf pgcrqftbxcv, hnnngtdhcxqm*  
<sup>with sik of his anin domestiks as war for the purpos;</sup>  
*gxma oxy fr axo hgxc pftqomxyo ho ghf rff maq dgfdxro*; and so to haif  
 persuadit his Maieftie to haif wretine for <sup>my lord of Huntlie,</sup> *tk bffp fr agcmbxq*, qwha fulde  
 haif beine with all his forcis alredie cwming fordwarde for pat effect, sua  
<sup>the King</sup>  
 pat *maq yxcv* fuld newer haif knowine the weritie of pat interprys qwhill  
 the twrne haed bein doing, and maeters satlit, bwt ony hazarde or daenger  
<sup>his Majesties anin persone;</sup>  
 of *axo thxqomxgo hgxc dqfscq*; qwhilk, bwt dowl, compellis him to tem-  
 porris farder with þir lords pat ar abowt him, þan wperways he wald doe;  
<sup>the Erl of Huntlie,</sup>  
 for hawine discuerit fik attempts of *maq qfb fr agcmbxq*, and wperis,  
<sup>feir faci-</sup>  
 maide his Maieftie foircein, and pat, afs is supponit, rether by *rqxf rhnx-*  
<sup>letie or craft,</sup>  
*bqmmq ff nfhrm*, they think it nocht nidfwll pat his Maieftie be in aeny  
 ways forrein of thaer proceiding, being affurit to haif his fawoir and gwid  
<sup>My Lord of Huntlie</sup>  
 will qwhainfoewer thaer conspiracies fall be effectwat. *tk bffp fr agcmbxq*  
 at his goine to court, the xx day of Apryll, wafs staeyit be ane chaerge of  
 the Kings maieftie; and yeit cam fordwart wpone the assurance of ane  
<sup>letter of his Majestis prively convoyit to him, ane</sup>  
*bqmmqf fr axo thxqomxgo dfggbk nfcgskxm mf axt*, qwhair he was *hcx*  
<sup>nicht be the vay in Dunfermling with the Maister of Gray,</sup>  
*cxnam lq maq ghk xc pgcrqftbxcv gxma maq thxomqf fr vfhk*, and fwlde  
 be þaer in his Lordships bakcumine; at qwhait tym fwlde resoltione will be  
 taen of all pwrpoises befor specifiet. Wpon þaer resoltione, I fall nocht  
 feill till adwertis yowir Lordship in haest, togither with ony wther thing of  
 importance pat fall occwr in þis meintyme. There is graet apparance of ane  
 alteratione at þis present, and pat in respect of the graet miscontentment,  
 togither with his Maieftie is wpone þe point to pas his yeirs of rewoca-  
 tione. Qwhaitfuewer the King haes done afs yeit with France, the Catho-

liks heir haes no howpe of it. The <sup>Secretar</sup> <sup>puts</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>laerd</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>Fintrie</sup> *oqnfqmhf dgmo maq bhqfp sr rxcmfzq*  
 in ane graet opinione þat he fall mwif <sup>the</sup> <sup>King</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>goe</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>Frænce</sup> *maq yxcv mf vſq maq rfhqcnq*  
<sup>cours,</sup> <sup>Fintrie</sup> *nſgfo*, be ye quhilk affurance *rxcmfzq* did qwhait he cwlð to haif renewit  
 þe frindschipe twixt þem, quhilk wafis nocht effectwat. <sup>Fintrie</sup> *rxcmfzq* wreit into  
 France in þe faid <sup>Secretaris</sup> <sup>favors</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>Bischoipe</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>Glasg</sup> *oqnfqmhfo rhgſfo mf maq lxonafzxdq sr vbhovg* and  
 wþeris, bot his letters war interceptit, and he haed in þe laes aestimatiōne  
 in respect of his ower graet simplicitie. Remitting þe rest to yowir Lord-  
 ships discretione and anſweir, hawing my hwmbles dewtie rememberit unto  
 yowir Lordship, committs yowir Lordship in Gods holy protectione, the  
 xxvj of Apryll, 1587.

Ȝowir Lordships awine to be commanditt  
 with service,

876 ††

To my verrie gwid Lord,  
 Sir Francis Walsinghame,  
 Secretarie to the Qwins Majestie  
 of Inglande.

SIR HENRY WEDDRINGTON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.<sup>1</sup>

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . the convoie of y . .  
 . . . . . and the xij<sup>th</sup> he returned to  
 towne, and brought no anſwere of those letteris, because the tyme was not  
 convenient nor the [King] and Counfell at leafure; for that upon the x<sup>th</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Caligula. D. 1. fo. 206. Unfortunately the volume of MSS. marked Calig. D. 1, is very imperfect, being so much injured by fire as in many places to be illegible. The words within brackets are conjectural readings.

of this instant the Master of Graye and Sir William Stewarde were brought before the King and Counsell, wher the Master was an hower and a half in secret conference with the King, and the [King], comynge from the Master of Graye, called all the Counsell and the noblemen together; where both the Master [of] Graye and Sir William Stewarde were brought face to face before the King and Counsell and whole nobilitye, where Sir William Stewarde accused him of certen points of treasone. [One] was, that he pretended to have slaine the Lord Secretarye, wherby the Court might have bene changed, and the King delivered to the northern Lordis; an other, that he wrote a letter secretlye to her Maiestie, that if she determined to execute the Quene, pat it myght be done closely and qu[ietly]; and finallye, that all his proceedings were un . . . diffimulacion with his Maiestie; and that the Earl of Huntley and the Lord Claude were of the [partie] with the Master for the killinge of the Lord Secretar: Who chardged him before the King that he lyed falselye, or any other that would take his parte, to avouche that matter of the [murder], and that if he had bene sufficient invocat, they would have proved themselves upon him; chardging him he was ever accompted no[thing] but a lyar and murderer himself.

And since they were noe other would witnesse with him . . .  
 . . .  
 . . .  
 . . .  
 who was his informer and . . .  
 said George was brought in, and . . .  
 he had informed Sir William Stewarde of any . . .  
 who flatlye answered he lyed, and said that . . .  
 beinge as good a gentleman as he ever was, he would prove it uppon hym that he fa[lsely] belyed him. So that Sir William Stewarde has greatlye discredited himself.

The King feameth to be greatlye displeased with the Master of Graye, and hath given him [in charge] to the Earle Huntley. And if the Lordis had not stooode well with the Master, yt is thought the King would have stricke of his heade.



The Master of Gray was carryed to Edenburgh castle to pryson againe that night, as [was] Sir William lykewife.

There examinacion the first day contynewit from twoe in th'afternoone till 9 at night; and the next day following thei were to be brought before the King, Counsell, and Lords againe.

For the next dayes proceading, as yet I heare not further of yt, but by the next your Honour shall understand more at lardge of [the] wholle proceedings, as I shall receave inte[lligence].

The wholle nobylitie is in Courte at the . . . . and have bene ever fence the ij of this monthe, fave only th'erle of Anguifhe, who is not . . . . but . . . . the . . . . for the . . . . that the K. myndeth . . . . from him.

And so for this tyme I remyt your Honour to the protection of th'Almighty. Burwik, the xij<sup>th</sup> of Maye, 1587.

Your Honours most humble,

HENRY WEDDREYNGTON, K.

To the Right Honourable  
Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight,  
principall Se[cretary] to her Maiestie,  
and [one of her] Highnis most  
Honourable Privie Counsell.

INDICTMENT AGAINST PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY, MAY 23, 1587.<sup>1</sup>

COMPERIT Mr David McGill of Nisbet, Aduocat to our Souerane lord,

<sup>1</sup> From PITCAIRN'S Ancient Criminal Trials, Vol. I. Part 3, p. 157.

and produceit the Dittay after specefeit, and defyrit proces; of the quhilk the tenour followis.

*Dittay against the Maister of Gray.*

PATRIK MAISTER OF GRAY, Ze ar indytit and accusit, that ze haif laillie, within þe space of þis zeir bypast writtin, delt and travellit to France for findrie materis preiudiciall to þe Religioune presentlie profest be our Souerane lord and his subiectis; and therefore, to haif had libertie of conscience, or otherwis to sy [say] forme of Religioune, to haif bene vfit att ewerie manis awin appittite within þe realme; incontrair þe tennour of þe Actis of Parliament; incurrand þairthrow the panis contenit in þe famin. *Secundlie*, Indytit and accusit, that during þe tyme foirsaid, he hes intendit to deill with sum personis in France, that be þair moyane, throw his informacioun, our Soueranis mariage with þe King of Denmarkis dochtir (being ane deed honest and lauchtfull in presens of God and men) mycht haif bene stayit; takand thairthrow vpoun him, without ony war-rand, forder thane becumit ane subiect of his dewtie to haif done; speci-allie, in that his intencion tendit to þe hindrance of þe Kingis mariage, being ane act profitabill to þe commoun welth of þis realme. *Thryddie*, Indytit and accusit, for þe vndewtifull wryting of lettres, concerning the estait of his Maiestie and þe realme, in Ingland; without his Maiesties knowledge or command; thairthrow exceding far þe dewtie of ane subiect. *Ferdlie*, Indytit, that he hes travellit in materis quhilk mycht haif destroyit the estait of þis realme; quhilk trawell, gif it had tane effect, his Maiesteis person mycht haif bene indangerit, committing þairthrow the cryme of Treffoune. *Fyftlie*, Indytit, for counterfitting of þe Kingis stamp,<sup>1</sup> and putting of the famin to ane letter writtin with his Maiesteis awin hand, without his command or auctoritie to do þe famin; and ficlyke, for retening and keping of þe famin stamp in his handis. *Saxtlie*, Indytit for diuers and findrie vtheris offences and crymes of Treffoun, alreddie declarit and confest be him to his Maiesteis self; quhairof he is giltie; quhilk he can nocht deny. Lyke as, the haill pointis of Dittay

<sup>1</sup> A *caschet* or stamp, bearing a fac-simile of the King's signature.

aboue writtin ar of veritie, as he can nocht deny þe famin, nor na pairt þairof.

The said Patrik Maister of Gray offerit himselff and become in oure Souerane lordis will and mercie for the saidis crymes.

JAMES GRAY TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

My gud Lord Hamiltone hes heme haertlie comendit to your Lordship, for he cane nocht meruell of your lang stay: trewlie ye hewe heme als fare to do yow freindschip as ye hewe any mane in the world. His Maiestie hes takin deliberatione to ryd . . . . . is ordenit for theme is extirpatione. This day his Maiestie beginnis and wowis to God, nocht to ly ane nicht quher he is ane vther, till they be all baniscit Scotland . . . . . gif you ver to mak speid, I think yeit ye fall try and in tyme . . . . . first is to be pute to the . . . . . vill ouer pafs I think als mikill as fall ferfe for yowr returne befor ferrar be med in the north. I veis ye vere heir agane, thene, in caece ye ver veriet, ye nicht tak repofs in your awin houfs of Dunfermling. Bring all the horsis vith yow ye cane purches, for they ar meruelus skant heir. His Maiestie is meruelus weill plaesit vith my Lord Hewme. I hewe no regret bot of my Lord Bothuell. I trust ye falbe the first mane to procure his pardone, albeit, in trewth, he hes done yow some wrang at this tyme, yeit vithin thise fewe dayis he hes gifen me assurans be his letter, that his doing vith the Erll of Huntlie is rather for your veill nor eny vther respek in the world, in so fare that my Lord Huntlie wilbe als glaed to gif yow your awin as ye vold be to refewe it: quhen euir my Lord Huntlie think, I know it to be trew that my Lord Bothuell hes this promifs of heme. He hes, at fundrie tymes, spokin verie fauorable to myself in this faime mater, bot, thankis to God, ve fall nocht now be so fare in

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1. art. 176, fo. 364. James Gray was the brother of the Master. He was for some time one of the gentlemen of the King's bedchamber. The date of the year in James Gray's letters is wanting; but the circumstances they relate, particularly the King's surprise at Halton, show that they were written in 1589.

his [pouer]. As for me, I proteft before God, he mycht a gifin faere vords to heme: he mycht a perfuadit more effellie to beleif theme nor me, for he hes comit to his litill bok no litill falsate. For God faek mak speid in your cuming. God be with yow . . . . one horsbak in gryte haeft, this morning the xj of Apprylle, [1589].

J. GRAY.

JAMES GRAY TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

MY LORD, I refaut your Lordships letters, being with my Lord Hewme in hyg . . . . intentione to hewe stayit his resolutione tuiching his presnt parting of the cu[ntrie] to the tyme ve had hard farder from your Lordship; quherin his Lordship, as in all the offers consarning your veill, hes schewin heme self most lowing and ry . . . . He veil yeit stay wpone your returne tuentie dayis, and at that tyme . . . . as ye fall think meit, no mane is abill to retard his deliberatione [but] ye onlie. I veill maist ernistlie requyft yow to mak haeft in your cuming: yowr linggeringe going hes done yow harme, yeit yowr prefens will help all that hes bein, and is sic as necessarilie mene mane knaw quher to find theme so trowlie the trewest freindis, as I may faye, in constant loyall behauore, ne fu[ch] in this cuntrie hes better. I ame nocht ignorant quhow fare fundrie of yowr f[reindis] hethe bein intyfit be faere conditions and offeris to hewe bein drawin by y[ow], bot the hope they hewe of yowr future prefens incuragis theme aganis the [fal]fattis of yowr enemies present. For Godis faek tempt theme no more, [but] be queik in yowr returne, that ve may tak a cours agreabill to [yowr] service, and meit for our awin standinge. The tyme, in my appeirans, is verie proper for this purpos. Mene heth so fare imbarkit theme felfis directlie aganis [his] Maiestie, that the lowed found of there retraet fall nocht be hard. My Lord [Bothwell], tho expresse aganis his Maiesties comand, and aganis his awin promiss be vord a[mouth] befor his parting, and fins, hes cum to Dunfirm-

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, art. 205, fol. 409.

ling, as is thocht to hewe ref[cut] his Maieftie there from fic as ves appoyntit to hewe takin his Maieftie, being at his hunting and pastyme in Haltone, quher his Maieftie ves difposit to hewe f[tayit] aucht or tene dayis; bot vpone the aduertifment of this, fuddenlie in [the nicht] this laft Sunday come to this towne; quhilk hes difapoyntit all ther [fchemes] this tyme, fo that ewerie vne fufpectit to be vpone this attempt hes thi . . . fend there excufis to his Maieftie; bot there partis refis to be tryit, and his [Maieftie] veill nocht pafs theme owir in filens. My Lord Bothuell in this mater . . . how yowr abfens hes bein fumquhat abusit; and hes bein vpone the ferv[ice] of ther maters, nocht fo mikill for veill of the caufs, nor leufe of [thofe] he is in fallowship vith, as fore deadlie inwy he baeris the Chancler. Bot ye know ye may laed heme be the nofs, and trewlie I val[d haue] yow the founer heir for his caufs. I thinke ye falbe the first to mak paece. Yowr longe ftay cane nocht aneuch be admird of all this cu[ntrie]. Gif ye fuld cum poft, I hope ye fall nocht cum fo . . . to refaue yowr . . . is my Lord falbe redie to delyuer it, and that for his gud be . . . the diuifione is the fame ves at Striueling Raed, except in my Lord Bo[thuell's] perfone, and in my Lord Glamis, quha is detenit . . . bot there i . . . diuouris gif my Lord Chancler and he be nocht in found dealling, certene [it is] the Chancler and Justice Clark ar agreiit, and that be Sir . . . Meluelis mediatione. The Chancler renders yow haertlie thankis for yowr frenf[chip]. He vretis none to yow, for that ewerie [day] he loukis aftir yowr felf. Vord ves heir certenlie tene dayis . . . in . . . or Englos and yeit . . .

The caufs quhy I hawe bein fo lange a vretting [is] becaufe his Maiefties being at pastyme, quher the Chancler culd nocht be hed, bot maer be caufe I vold hewe fowme fewre intelligens of thife thingis [quhilk] hes bein of [late,] fins the refet of yowr laft letters, in brewing. I am of the Chanciers mynd in that. I know nocht quhat to vret to yow till yowr cuming, faef vne thing, that it is meiteft ye cum, in respect ye falbe velcum bothe to the eftaet fpirituall and temporall, I . . . in particulare by many of theme felfis. The caufs I vrot fo fuddenlie with Mr Richard

Douglas, ves for that I thocht assuredlie my letter fuld hewe cum to yowr handis at Beruik, or at least betuixt that and Londone. I pray forget nocht that gentilmanis curtesie, [for] trewlie ye ar mikill obliff to heme. I hewe send for my Lord . . . and yowr vyfe, according to the directione of yowr letter. Sche fall da[ell vith] my Lord hir fathir in the mater ye vrot of, bot I fai . . . his recidens be verie schòrte heir. I fear to trubill yow vith ewerie nathlie truffill at this tyme: theis fall abyd yowr [leisure] at yowr returne. I juge this fame letter fall gif yow rancunter be the vay, or gif it do nocht, I pray yow that my nyxt do it. So, my verie humbill fer[wice] rememberit to yowr Lordship, I comit yowr Lordship to Gods euir[lafting] protexione. Frome Courte, this xiiij of Appryll, [1589].

Your Lordship lowing brother  
alwayis to be commandit  
vith ferwice,

J. GRAY.

Sundrie yowr Lordships frends avatis yowr cuming in this towne, and vill all meit yow at Beruik.

[Excuse] I pray your Lordship, both the vret and [spell]ing, for it ves done in gryt haest, [and] paper culd nocht be hed.

For the Maister of Gray of Scotland,  
prefentlie at Londone.

THOMAS FOWLER TO LORD BURGHELY.<sup>1</sup>

MY LORD, I must vyffet you with my lynes as often as I can get convoy. Yesterday cam in before the Kyng and Councell divers great men of

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, fol. 395. Thomas Fowler seems to have been the English resident or envoy at the Scottish court.

power that lye rownd abowt Huntleyes lands and Arroles, as Malcontofhe, the Laird of Graunt, all the Forbaffes and Dromonds, Frendrathe, and others; and geven in theyre hands, and oftages (that be caryed with the Kyng), that they fhall profecute and aprehend all traytors in this jorney confederat with Huntley, and hathe fpeciall names of pryncypall men fet downe. The pryncypall howfe of Arroll, called Slanes, a xvj myles from this towne, is furnifhed with a garryfon, and kept for the King. Huntley is ftraytly kept, and therefore discontent, and makes meanes to be banyfhed, and offers cawfyon of any noble men in great fomes, that he fhall neyther deall with ftraungers to moleft this country, nor religion in it, nor fhall ever returne without lycence obteyned of the Kyng. He wold fayn be gon, and fum great ones of thes noble men wold have it grant, as the Lord Hamelton for one; but it is now fet down, that he fhallbe arayned and found guilty of trefon thereafter; they will take farder order. But if he get lowfe by banifhment, I lyke it not, and dothe what I can to perfwade the contrary. I pray your Lordfhip haften the cominge of fuche a one hether as I have wryten *of before, and all fhallbe well; for thys nobyllitie [are] afrayde to toche him in blud. For ought that I fee they meane to arayne him* and fynd him guilty, but to ftay judgment. What that fhould meane I know not well. I perceave fum of this party hathe affured him abfolutely for his lyffe and lands, which, they fay, they dyd to get him. In all wayes the Kinge is free of any condifyon with him. Yefterday allfo was a petycyon prefented to the Kinge and Councell, to lyfence the Mafter of Gray to cum in. The Kinge aunfwered it, that at Edenbrough, at a generall convencion, it was ordered that all Papifts fhould avoyd the country, and that frome thence forthe not any Scots man that was abroad in other cowntrye, and knowne to be affected with papyftry, fhould [come] home, nor enter into this realme, before the Kirke [was] fatisfyed of theyre fowndnes in religion, and . . . . . interfeffors for them, and the Mafter of Gray efpecially [was] intended in this decre, which was proclaymed in all cittyes and burrowes of Scotland; therefore he will not graunt the fayd Mafter his entraunce before that order were performed, for he wold not breke fo [good] a purpofe. So I perceave theyre will be fum ftay his coming in. This is all at this tyme.

Yet fence is aryved here Mr James Hudfon, who [was] with the Kinge and Chancellour about the fayd Master of Graye. The Chancellour beinge perswaded of his Maiesties lykinge, and sum good folkes of his cominge perswaded presently lyk . . . for it, with provifyon that he shold satiffy the [Kirk] within forty dayes, and the Chauncellour is resolved that the Master kepe a good cowlse with him. He will use co . . . This day we remove to Donotter, the Erll [Marfchalls] howse, and so on to Sterlyng and to Edenboroghe. God preserve your Lordship. This last of Aprill, 1589. Haberden.

Your Lordships loving frend and  
cowffen to command,

T. FOWLER.

It is geven out here secretly by Bodwells frends, that not withstanding all this rule he makes, his hatred to Ingland in his unreverent speches of hir Maiestie, that there is an intercowrse of dealing by letters betwene the Lord Chamberlayne and him, which the Chauncelour and others marvell at, if it sholde be true, but can hardly beleve it, and I perswade to some it is a device to shew his credit.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHELEY.<sup>1</sup>

the treuthe of our estait vitche I fand [to be very] different from that I did accompt it to be, for I perceave a greater difficultie then I lukit for [from] the persecutioun of theis Rebelles, be reafoun of the King my masters sumquhat to passionat affectioun towardis them for sum particulaire respects, vitche, as the Chancellar affirmis, did grou from the stories vfit be the Queen your souveraine in that maiter: for in the begining haid any man of sperit bein fend hither, the Kings necessitie, with the concur-

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, art 189, fol. 382. The commencement of this letter is wanting.



rence of the veil dispoſit noble men about his Maieſtie, [would haue]  
 moveit him for to accord to quhatſumeuer ſhould have bein demaundit.  
 Bot the tym paſt, and the rebellis haid ſo many freindis about him, that  
 they ſubmittit themſelfis [to] a forme of entering. Yet albeit the King  
 feimit not to deal in any capitulation with them: he moueit the noble  
 men abowt him to giue vnto the rebelles promeis of lyf, [liberty], and  
 goodes; the promiſers ver Lordis Hamiltown, Angus, Mar, Morton,  
 Heume, Marafchall, and Maſter of Glammifs. The [Lord] Chancellor  
 found in theis, if farther ordre ver not taken, verie great danger; and  
 yet would not ſeim to be the doer of it, bot moveit the King to con-  
 vein his Eſtatis; quhere the [thing] being propoſit, it ves concludit that  
 the Rebelles, ſo maid culpable of thair fact, be kept ſtrictly and fr  
 . . . the firſt point ves performed, by Huntly his ſubmiſſioun, and con-  
 feſſing of treaſonis, and by Bothuell and Crauford thair convictioun by  
 ane aſſyſe of thair peires . . . ſtrict keeping; it is there  
 they be yet priſoners . . .  
 of inhabilitie. Treuly thair is no appearence . . .  
 I may tell in my particulaire, for in a maiter . . .  
 by Huntly vitche apperteinethe to me, the King hes [ſaid, he] vill in  
 Godes [name] prefer no man to him. So that, to vryt plainly, I ſee no  
 appearence that any of the 3 pointis concludit in conventioun ſtratlie ex-  
 cut agent . . . from our ſelfis, and in this I knou ſume men,  
 inclined to do our Chancellor good, haithe hermit him for to . . .  
 haue maid his credeit futche with the King, that quhat he pleaſethe he may  
 get done. Bot in this they ar [ſtran]gers bothe in the Kings awin naturell,  
 and in our eſtate . . . vill affur your Lordſhip, the Chancellor quhat  
 he may [do he] vill, bot all he would, he may not: for the Lord Lennox  
 is nou a man, and accomptit for his aige a g[reat] diffimuler and reaſon-  
 ablie acute. He beginnethe to have intereſt in the Kings ear, and of  
 naturall inclinatioun he . . . rune to the courſe, and freinds, for  
 dyverſis reſpects, thoſis Rebelles, vitche is no ſmall impediment to . . .  
 thing the Chancellor of him ſelf could propone . . . maiter one vther  
 thair is, the Maſter of Glamifs . . . the eſtate in futche termes, that  
 if he ver greit with the Chancellor, he lukethe to fall in his place . . .

moveit him factiously to fil the Chancellars rume. He indirectly deal-  
lis with Huntly and fume of his fo[lloweris]; fo, that appeirand to be  
ennemie, quhatever he fayeth it tendethe for Huntlyis avantage;—to the  
King he feimethe to speik it for the Kings veil, and veil of estait . . .

. . . . . auin dispositioun inclyning thairto. In forte he is  
in a maner the vphoulder of Huntly . . . . . reght. This fare I  
doubt if it be plainly . . . . . your men heir, for your Embassadour  
is accomptit sumquhat simple for our estait; and when men [sette] one a  
ground, if it tuitche the King his Maiestie in co[nscience, it] desolves  
him from it, vitche I haue not of . . . . . for that I nauer as yet  
haue practiquet the m . . . . . bote of the Chencellar, and a nombre  
of vther [veill] villars, vho would be glaid, from thair . . . . .  
that fume man of countenance ver fend hither . . . . . extremitie of  
justice nou can not be haid, that pointes resoluit by estaites might be  
crauit to be . . . vitche vithout doubt fhalbe grantit, for the K[ing]  
is futche, that at this tym he vill not refuse her Maiestie your souveraines  
reasonable petition . . . . . befyd this, the Chencellar vill advyse your  
L[ordship] and the King bothe, in maiters he can not propone himself,  
by reafoun, as I haue said, he is greu . . . . . both  
directly and indirectly, for futche a propo . . . . . findis  
noe man fitter then Mr Robert Boues, for [one knowin] in our affaires is  
requifit, and for so fcho . . . . . imployment small moyens for a great  
good M[after] his inhabilitie. Remitting aluayis the choife of that to  
your Lordships vyfdome, bot one is neceffarely requifit . . . . .  
vitche any thing to be performed. As for the . . . . .  
. . . . . that I could . . . . .  
In it . . . . .  
durft not haue medlit in it, for the day befor . . . . . this toun, the holl  
merchandis in concurrence maid [head] and boffit my Lord Hamiltoun  
and Chencellar, because they opposit them felfis to the marriage; so that I  
am lothe to speik in it, and I think I shall . . . . . affectuat, for  
the King craueis so great maiters bo[the in this] and vther pointis, that  
I doubt if they . . . . . to performe it, and in this country thair be

verie [few] noble men inclynable to it. I would haue vrytten to her Maiestie particulairly quhat the King haith said to [me in] that maiter, bot I forbear, for that I haue not delt in vther pointis with him, bot by Mr Hudfon, who shalbe despatchit towardis her Maiestie. Vithin fyue or fix [days], I shall, God willing, aduertis her Maiestie of all thingis, and more particulairly then goodly, I may at this tym by reafoun of fume heast. I feare her Maiestie tak not veil that the money sche fend to the King for [the] greater pairt, is destyneit to th'Earle Marchall for [defraie of] his voyage in Denmark, bot sche schall not blam [the] Chancellar for it, nor haith sche any cause. Ref[talrig will] aduertis your Lordship, that all the jaloufies conceiuit of me proceedit of fume opinioun they haid that I ves go[verned] by Mr Archibald Douglas. And thairfor I pray your Lordship, the treuthe wer to schau how, when for malice Mr Archibald vould haue calumniat the Chancellar, I told your Lordship the simple treuthe. This I pray your Lordship vryt to Mr . . . . .  
. . . . . Mr Aschby, whither from negligence or fume . . . . .  
fauorably of me, he neuer vtterit the same . . . . . bot I am not to be  
a fore accuser of it, for [I] hoyp, God-willing, to be able to do my awin  
turn. In the particulaire of Dumfermling, albeit . . . . . be half  
pairtie as yet, I trust I shalbe . . . . . Thus haueing to long trou-  
blit your Lordship, I [commit you] to Godis holy protection. From  
Edinborrou, [the iiij day] of Junij, 1589.

Your Lordships to do you [seruice],

*Patrick Master of Gray.*

To the Right Honourable  
My Lord Bourgley, Lord Heiche  
Threasurer of England, [one] of her Maiesties  
of England honorable Counsell.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHELEY.<sup>1</sup>

MY LORD, efter this uther letter wes wrottin, Mr Afchby, hir Maiesties embassador, fend me on from your Lordship, bot, befor the receyt of it, I had taikin leiuve of his Maiestie to go vissie my father and my hous, so that presently I think I can answer it in litle, forther then is alredy conteinit in my other letter: for thair is futche unuorthy men about the Kings Maiestie that honest men can nether do nor speik bot is misconstruted. Yet within a day or tuo I am to retourne, and then I shall concur with the Chancellor; bot I knou he wilbe lothe to deall ether directly or indirectly in stay of the mariage with Denmark; for, as I had wrottin the verie day befor I came to this toun, thair arose a great . . . . . agent my Lord Hamiltoun and him; for he, all noble men and gentlemen, save a verie feu particulairs, be altogether inclyning to Navarre. So that my opinion is, bothe for that and other maiters, that Mr Robert Bowes sould be fend hither, and indirectly, the Chancellor and my self shall advyse him hou to stay the maiter, and her Maiestie never to acknowledge it; nor yet shall it be knowin in Denmark the maiter to proceed from her. And in the mid tym I shall deall quhat I can with his Maiestie, according to the reafouns sete down in your Lordships letter, and by Mr Hudfone shall mak you advertisfit hou fare I proffit. Bot as I wrot, th'Erle Marefchall hes alredy receavit a great pairt of the money her Maiestie fend to the King, for defraie of his voyage. The charge of this mariage is one Mr Peter Young, [Mester Almowfer to his] Maiestie, who ves first imployed in the same. As for my actiouns, so fare as they may extend, shall ever be to doo her Maiestie service, nixt my auin Master, and I hoyp the Chancellor will do the same, so that bothe *propter istud ter* . . . . . our auin particulier weilles as your Lordship co . . . . . it shalbe agent my will if we [quar]reil amongst our selfis. I have hard [nothing] from Mr Archibald Douglas of newis, nor wisch I to heir from him. Bot wold be glaid to [hear] from your Lordship if

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Caligula, D. 1, fol. 381.

any be good. So let me comit your Lordship to Godis holy protectioun.  
[From] Edinborrou, this 5 of Junij, 1589.

My Lord, it shalbe, in my opinion, verie pertinent [that the] Secretary wryt a letter to the Chancellar, conteining some argumentis sett down by your Lordship, and futch a letter [as the] Chancellar may veil schaw to his Maieftie, as proceding from Mr Secretars self.

Your Lordships to comand,

*MS. of Gray.*

THOMAS FOWLER TO LORD BURGHELEY.<sup>1</sup>

. . . . .  
. . . . . your Lordship to underftand that fen . . . . .  
. . . . . by the Ambaffadours convoy toching the ty . . . . .  
acc . . . . . Kings maryage, and the refolucyon upon the fame,  
I fynd ftyll to holde, and the Erll Marshall preparyng in haft to goo with  
the next wynde, for his inftuccyon is not drawne to a poynt, but fum of  
them agreed a . . . . . I fynd that the Kinge is caryed by Coronell  
Steward, but fpecyally by Peter Yonge, in this matter of his maryage,  
frome the Chauncelour, and all other, fo far as he comends the de-  
lying of the towne of Edenbroroghe, and alowes [it to] procede of zeale  
and affeccyon they beare him, and to avoyde an extremety lyke to fawle  
upon themselves for theyre trade, yet he condemnes them for unreverent  
fpeches that the bafest fort fhould ufe againft the Lady of Navar. And  
fum other the . . . . . and theyre raylings agaynst Ingland, which he  
wold have had fum ponished for, but there was no partyculer men charged,

<sup>1</sup> Cott. MSS. Caligula, D. 1, fol. 379.

it was so generall. The sayd Stewerd and Yonge hathe put in his hed that the fyfter of Navar is olde and coked, and sumthing worfe if all were knowne; and fettes forthe the vther. So that it aperes the Kinge hathe conceived a diflykinge by imagynacyon, which makes the Chauncellor yeld, and allow of his procedinges that way, but is sorry for it in his hart, and hathe told me in secreet, that there hath none but fooles dealt in that negocyacyon as yet, fuche as ar vayne . . . and hoepes to gayne to them felues by it; regarding not the good of theyre Master, and even now tuo fuche lyke, but of a higher degree, for the Marshall and the Lord of Dingewell, that goe with him, will not bothe make a wyfse man. And their instruccyons shalbe fuche as the Chauncelour thinkes they in Denmark will never agree unto: one is, that they shalbe bound to furnishe the Kinge ten thou[sand] men, payd and armed for fyx monthes, if he [should nede] to use them, for the obteyninge of Ingland after hir Maiesties defease. It was once agreed on so longe as he shold nede them. I thinke to get all the wh . . . sone as they be drawne perfect, but non is present . . . The sayd Peter Yonge determined to goe with the [Erll] Marshall, and the Kinge comends it, and it . . . that Yonge . . . instruccyons to himfelfe that shalbe more . . . be not lyked, so that they will haue no ft . . . matter, but hoopes to brynge hir home with the . . . at his returne, and make no moe sendings whea . . . It was fet downe that the Erll sholde have but . . . the couenants of the maryage, and the Lord Chancellar . . . shold haue gon for her, the Erll Marshall is perswaded by sum frends, of which in truthe I am one, that Peter [Yonge] will robbe him of all the honour, havynge byn there before, and havinge secreet instruccyons. And now he will not goo at all if Peter Yonge goo, and tells the [King] so playnly yesterday; so that yet the matter is not agreed upon. It is wifhed here by the well [willers] to Ingland, that the Cowncell of Denmarke myght be wrowght to answere, they wold conclude no maryage with the Kinge, without the Quene of Inglands consent; and that the forward

Scots Da[n]istes, that] will take so much upon them, dyspifyng that hir Maiestie shold medle in the Kings maryage, may be dryven from theym unlesse she be pleased. The Master of Gray hathe com[municate] with me at length; the Chauncelour uses him well, and they haue had large conferences together, and the King geves him resonable good countenance, but his credit is lyttel with him. He sekes alwayes to [obtain] the Abbey of Domfermyng, at least to haue the [benefitt] of the lawe alowed him, which is so resonable [that] it cannot be well refused, and the Chancelour is of [that] opinyon; yet the Kinge hathe made no answer: but to me he can never get it by lawe. The Master spekes exceding well of England, and agaynst all that be not well affected to the amyté. If he so contynue I shalbe glad; but he condemnes the hardnes of her Maiestie, and that she loses much there by; and d . . . it by reson in many thinges. I dowt his credit will not be much here a longe tyme. Thus I deale playnly with your Lordship, letting you knowe the [state] of all, reseruyng the rest to your Lordships owne wyse conclusion: Allwayes I must beseeche your Lordship that thes may be kept secret. I know the Master wrytes [at length, so] that myne is the lesse nedefull; but I must be done . . . . .

my opinion that it is excedinge nedefull to haue a gentleman of accompt [sent] hether. And he thinks it wolde stand him in good sted for his owne partyculer. The Erlls ar gon to severall prysons in the country; Bodwell to Taintallon, Huntley to Bartyke Castell,<sup>1</sup> Crauford to St Androies; and every [one] a trusty gentleman with sum gard for theyre keping. And so they rest without more yet. For other matters I refer to my Lord Ambassadors letters. And so praying God for your Lordshipps happy and long lyfe, this 7 of June, 1589. Edenbrowghe.

This day the Capteynes of the Vanguard and Tygar hathe byn a borde and with the King, who takes it marveylowse kyndly that they were apoynted to offer him service, and is not a lyttell proude that he used them well; but the villanouse base pe[p]ists<sup>1</sup> and Spanyerds together mysused sum of the people, and slue a trompettour; wheareupon the King

<sup>1</sup> Borthwick Castle.

was extreme angry, and willed me that a demaund shold be put in to the Cowncell for iustice, and it wold be graunted, for so he wold see it. Wheare upon I told the Ambaffador, who had made sum other requestes before the diforder of the bo . . . and how ever the matter goes, was lyttel regarding. At his request I became his secretery, and drew him ij requestes to present to the Kinge and Cowncell. It may be they will do more good then other wayes wold, for I haue convinced the King to see justice done, and the Inglishe m[en] well used, beinge the subiects, not only of his good Syfter and neyghbor prynces, but to accompt her his mother, maynteyner and upholder, protectour and defender, so, bleffed by God, that the lyke of her for so many yeres cannot be red of in thes cowntry, and who hathe byn so miraculowfly preserved [agaynst] all develythe devyses of man, that he might . . . God wold preserve hir Maieftie to the end. He alowed of my speche excedinge well . . .

. . . . .  
 . . . . .

Your Lordshipp hu[m]ble servant]  
 at comawndment . . .  
 lyffe . . .

T. FOWLER.

Mr Archebald hathe wrytten hether spightfully agaynst the Master of Gray.

To the Right Honorable Lord Burleyghe,  
 the Lord Treforer of England  
 —sped ye vith them.

#### WILLIAM ASHEBY TO LORD BURGHELEY.<sup>1</sup>

OF the Master of Graye and the Lord Chancellors concurring in on good course, it is to be feared; for that there haith ben great enmytie in Court

<sup>1</sup> This article is extracted from Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, art. 186, fol. 377, under date 8 June, 1589. William Asheby was the English ambassador at Edinburgh.



heretofore betwixt them; and now the Chancellour hauing the onlie credit, he will hardlie suffer a competitour to creep into favour for . . . .  
*habet* . . . . *virtus*, and the Mafter of Graies humour is not here  
 [well] liked.

Your Honour will fmyle at a pageant now bigon betwixt Mr Arch. Douglas and the Mafter of Gray, who, as I haue hard, femed to be great frendes to rune on courfe being in London together; they haue begone to deface on another by lettres, which [haue] ben shewed to the Kinge, who makes himself [merry] with it. The Mafter of Graye, a litle before

. . . . .  
 into Scotland, writeth to his brother here, what an evill courfe and hurtfull to the [King] Mr Arch. Douglas foloweth; and wifheth he might be caulled whom, for that his being there [is] a hinderance to the King. This lettre was shewed to his Heighnes, and a report mad of it to Mr Arch. Douglas by fome of his frends here. Mr Arch. repliës, and points out the Mafter [of] Graye in his coullours: His lettre, in like manner, is shewed to the King, who laughs at this ftrange dealing, wherin thei shew what faithfulnes is to be had at there hands: that shewing [to] the wourld a kind of frendfhip, and yet going about to cutt on anothers throts by evill reports. Theife men maie welbe vfed, but never trusted. Your Honour maie not [let it] be knownen that this cometh from me, till we fhall fe fome of there refe[ntment], for I thinke thei will not here ceaffe.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHLEY.<sup>1</sup>

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 fo many appeirences of maiteris to fall furthe [that] I dyferrit from day to day to wryt in . . . . for fum certaintie, witche as yet haiftely I performe. Bot I have ftayit for a day or . . . . Mr Hudfone, and til then [have] fend their [lines to] let your Lordfhip knou hou that upon

<sup>1</sup> From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, fol. 372.

fume occasions . . . . thair sett furthe at my retourne, betuene the [Lord] Chancellor and Master of Glamife fume quarrell witche wes occaifiound that no thing wes begun, as wes promifed at the laft convention by [his] Maieftie, tuitching the rebelles; for the Master of Glamis tuke a plaine deeling for th'Earle of Huntly, and the Chancellor, vnderhand, for Montrois: fo that [between] the tuo all mifters ver neglected; witche [being] perceaved by fume honeft men who hes medlit in this caufe, they trauelit with bothe the . . . . and hes takin up the maiter betuene the Chancellor and the Master, fo that yifternicht they haue promifit honeft freindfchip among them felfis, and to procure to joine in the courfe all [noble] men they can, for the fuppreffing the witche . . . . if this maiter be effectuell betuene them . . . . good, bot I am affrait. I wryt to your Lordfhip by Mr Hudfone, that the Master of Glamife is . . . . We . . . . .

his nepheu is to chofe his curatoris, and [of] neceffitie he wes compellit to ryd from . . . . to ftay for a tym; thairfor thocht it not good to leave behind him fo great ane ennemie at [Court as] the Chancellor. This is a point I knou to be . . . . for he hes ftayed theis eicht dayis bygone only [for] this purpofe. Aluais th'effect will give licht . . . . I am requyrit my felf to enter in this fame [freind]fchipe, to the witche I accord moft willingly . . . . . Th'Earle of Huntly is yet poffeft with my [living], and I as yet can have no redrefse, for I crave indifferent iuftice according to our laues, witche [I] can not have; for the King him felf in perfoun haith procured that the Seffion should medle in no proceffe or actioun appertaining th'Earle of Huntly during his [lying] in ward. So that th'Earle is in better caice nor if he haid never bein traiterous, and better by . . . . committing then he wes fre: For this I . . . . of the Chancellor and the reft of honeft men; and men who cravis me in felloufchip, that they . . . . find out the moyen how I may have iuftice . . . . for me, for I know my living dayly offerit . . . . I will fute Huntly for it.<sup>1</sup> In this caice [ftand] my maiters at this tym. So that ftraichtly I anfuer your Lordfhip, in

<sup>1</sup> 'The Erle of Huntly in the mean tym was pronydit with the benefice of Domferme-ling, quhilk was tane fra the Mester of Gray laityl decourted, and geuen to him.'—*Sir James Melville's Memoirs*, 4to., p. 361.

your auin langage, whither I . . . . . feing I have not yet begon  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 to tak by the hand. I dar not wryt so plain as I would, and as I shall by  
 Mr Hudfone . . . . . knou your Lordship can not be informed of our  
 werie . . . . . for they be not knouin to many. Bot if your [Lordship  
 haue] not fume sufficient man fend hither, I do affur [your Lordship]  
 maiters for that estait can not go rytly; and if we had heir fume sensible  
 man, your Lordship sould see England sould find freindis; and nou I dare  
 affirme quhair ever thair is one favouring England about his Maiestie,  
 thair be ten Spainyardis: But Mr Hudfone shall informe your Lord-  
 ship, to-whom I commit all othir thingis, saue to schaw your Lordship  
 [how] throu finiftrous men the King thocht not the . . . . . of me  
 for her Maiesties earnest requyft: bot her . . . . . I may kythe my self  
 and knou whom to em . . . . . I hopp to redrefs all maiters to my  
 contentment. Mr Archibald Douglas, within theis eicht days [hes] wrot  
 a letter hither to a gentleman for to be schown to his Maiestie, containing  
 no other thing, save [falsate] of me, and my deportment at my last being  
 in England, quhairin he tuitchis no les deiply her Maiestie and all your  
 Lords of Counfell then my self: Thairfor it haithe pleasit his Maiestie for  
 to [give] me the letter to fend to her Maiestie, to th'end [it may be]  
 sein quhat handsome ghaift sche enterteinethe. For my pairt, I protest  
 the greateft offence that. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 receaue for doing the lyk, for a tryed . . . . . fay no more in this, for  
 pat your Lordship will confider of the maiter when as you shall [get his]  
 auin letter, witche I shall fend by Mr [Hudson], as the trouthe, particu-  
 larly of many pro . . . . . So I commit your Lordship to Godis holy  
 protection. From Edinburch, this 16 of Junij, 1589.

Your Lordships to do you [service],

*MS of Gray*

I forbear to wryt to her Maiestie as yet, not having full knouledg of all thingis, bot Mr Hudfone schalbe by his Maiestie despatchet the 20.

THOMAS FOWLER TO LORD BURGHLEY.<sup>1</sup>

THE Master of Gray fyndes, as he thinks, hard dealing at the Kings hands; and thoughe the Chauncelour and he agree well in all showe, as much as may be; yet I know (more then many) it is no perfect part with eyther. But it is fuer the Chauncelour will not go an inche farder then he fees the King lykes and will alowe; and the King is not to be won in this caice, as partly I have toched it allreddy to your Lordship: and, thoughe I prefume to wryt it, the Master sayes and thinks I may doo him more good at the Kings hands, then eyther Chauncelour, or other in this land. And for his well spekyng and honorynge of hir Maiestie, my soverayne, I have done my best, even very lately, as before. But the King prayes me not to speke for him, nor to deal in his matters, as I love him. I told him it was for his own sake, not for the Master of Grayes, that I spoke, for I was fearfull that it should be bruted, bothe here and in Ingland, that he wold be so parcyall as to stay justice, specyally in the favour of so great an offendour. He styll sayes he does it for the [friendship] of a yonge lady his doughter, and beloved of his blud; and he trustes that neyther hir Maiestie nor Councell will accompt the Master and . . . . alyke. Nay, he affuers himselfe of it, and sayes, ' If they love me, they will not, but [if] they knew him as well as I, they wold not. I will prove I do him no wronge.' I cannot goo much farder in this poynt, becaufe he told me with so fayne and good words, and I must [mynd] my creddit, which is knowne to be some what more then ordinary. To conclude, I see no hasty . . . . for the Master.

<sup>1</sup> Extracted from the original, dated 22d June 1589, in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, fol. 374.

A SHORTE DISCOURSE, WHEREIN IS SET DOUNE THE VERIE TREUTH OF  
THE KING OF SPAINE HIS DESIGNE AGAINST THIS HOLE ILE,  
BY THE MASTER OF GRAYE, 1589.<sup>1</sup>

THE vifer forte, and men best broken in affaires of all ages, and amonge all nationns, hes ever accomtit man to be borne, not so much for himself as for his countrye, the veifare and libertie whairof to his uttermost he is bounde to preas to conserue; as not only of Grecians and Romans, bot of all other nations, hes done frome the beginning infinite number of wise and valiant men, whom the luif of thair patrie movit to expon to all kinde of daunger, and losse thair substance, heritages, and thair owin propir lives; whairthrou not onlie men of noble blood ver crounit with perpetuall praise, bot many of baffe lineage ver nobilizit and acquirit immortal fame. Contrary vaies, such as haith bene instruments, aithir to troble or to betray thair country, of vhat blood or qualitie soever they have bene, or what occasion soever they could pretende so to doe, have purchasit perpetuall infamy and extreeme ruyne, as testifies the registars of the lyves both of th'one and th'uther set downe in famous histories. By reason whairof, considering the present estaite of this yle, and specially of this country of Scotland, as appeiris at this tyme devydit vithin it self; and knowing that divers noblemen and others, some intyfit by corruption, and some movit rather of ignorance and blynde zeale, nor of malice, haith bene, and are presentlie, indusit somvhat facilly, ayther to agrye altogether, or at least to comport vith alterations politickly intendit, partlie under the superficiall pretext of religion, and pairtly under colour of revenge of the Queenes death.

For dischardge of my duty to his Maiestie my soveraigne, and to my country, having dieply rypit out, and by affurit intelligence tryit, the very treuth of the designe of the King of Spaine, the only mover of thes im-

*Grecians.*  
Alcibiades,  
Themistocles,  
Epaminondas,  
Thrasibulus.

*Romans.*  
Camillus,  
Horatius Cocles,  
Scaevola,  
Fabritius.

Tit. Livius,  
Appius Alex.  
Plutarch.

Cause of writing  
this discourse.

<sup>1</sup> LANSDOWNE MSS. Brit. Museum, No. 155, art. 165, fo. 409.

minent troubles, I have in this schorte subsequest discourse thocht meit summarily to sett downe the same, without any farther langage, or inrichment of exemples, bot only to schaue the simple veritie, for resolutioun of all that schall reid or heare the same. Not doubting bot the treuth and efficacie of the reasouns schall sufficientlie move all indifferent and honeist men to doe thair deuty toward thair Prince and Patrie, for thereby it schall evidentlie appeare, that the only occasioun of this great Spanish preparatioun is the conquest of this hole yle, let that King cover his designe as schall please him, with the pretendit cavses, above specifiet, of Religion and revenge. For although the holle inhabitants of this yle ver of the Romain religion, yet yt is not likelie that he should chaunge his purpose of conquest, or effect thaym more nor he did the Catholicks of the Low Countreys and Portugall, to tham having schawin no better favour than yf they had bene Protestantes; following the exemple of his father, Emperor Charles the first, who ves not greatlie movit with love of religion, or great love to the Catholick church, in taking Pope Clement prisoner, for that he seimit rather to favour the King of France nor him, and in using the said Pope noe better then if he had bene Martin Luther him self; with many othyr examples that mycht be inducit to prove, that his progenitors and he hes, at all tymes and occasiouns, rather respectit thair awin commoditie, nor religion, and only politickly did use yt to serve theyr turne. Likevise, yt hath noe great appearaunce that he makis theis great chardges and preparatiouns for revenge of the Queine of Scotlandes death, vhois libertie during her life tyme to procure he ves mervellous flou: which at that tyme haid bene farre leffe chardgeable nor is nov his present interpryse, which, if he may accomplysh as he intendis, vho ever within this yle is most affectionat to his course shall, without doubt, finde a Spaniard to be a very evill neibour, and a farre vorse maister. Yet I knoue some thair be in this realme vho fylhes best in trovbled vatters, and are enemies to quietnes; bot by thair actiouns they are so manifestit that I forbear to expresse thair names. To theis I thinke this discourse shall not be aggreable, bot I am assured be others yt schall be veyle lykit of, because, as a deutifull subject to my Prince and veill affected to my Country, looking indifferently upon the estaite present, I haue sett down

the fimple treuth, defiring the difcreet reader fo to thinke thereof without all partiallitie.

Thair is noe man fo ignorant bot may easilie perceave the diffing of the Spainard to have bene, and to be, the overthrou generally of this yle, for th'avancement of his ouin estaite, and confervatioun of his monarchie, as appeared cleerely in the laft yeares expedition; which, be the providence of God, had fuch event as ves fufficient to have divertit him from his unjuft interprife, if any admonitioun from God might have terrifiet him, or movit him to confidder his deuty. Yit not only is he noe vayes terrifiet be the former admonitioun, bot it is nou notoriouſlie knawin, be dayly moſt certaine intelligence, his ambition to be fo infatiable, and his diffing to be fo deiply groundit, that he is altogether myndit to profecut his former attemptat, be farre greater preparatiouns to that effect then of before.

Which is noe neu thing either in him or his predeceffors, as is evident by the hiftorie of his progenitor, Ferdinand of Aragon, hufband to Ifobella Queine of Caſtill, vho, under pretext to help his tender couſin, Ferdinand King of Naples, againſt Lewis the xij. King of France, being in armes for acquiring of the ſaid kingdome of Naples, as juſt titular thairof, not only did not help his ſaid couſin Ferdinand, bot, be the contrarie, maide a privie league with the ſaid Lewis, for equall perting of the kingdome of Naples betuein them; and deiply difſembling his intention, he ſende the great capitain Gonſaluo, as it had bene to help his couſin, vho never utterit his injunctiouns, till the French armie ves very neere to Naples, with vhome he joynit than, and expellit the ſaid Ferdinand, and his poſteritie, out of thair kingdome. And not contente of this diviſioun, vhairby he obteynit the better parte of the kingdome, the King of France being paſt the Alpes, and reteiring toward his auin country, he immediatly moves his lieutenant Gonſaluo to take quarrell with the Duke of Nemours, lieutenant for the King of France, for a licht forgit cauſe, vhair throu at laſt be moving in expectat varre, he conquiſt th'other half of the kingdome of Naples; and ſo the holle came to his handes, and is poſſeſſit preſentlie be King Phillipp.

Fr. Guic. li. 5.  
Paul Jovius.

Fr. Guic. li. 7.

The like ve finde of his grandfather, Phillipp Archduke of Auftria, and

after King of Spaine, who of his ouin naturall ves nothing inferiour in ambitioun to the forenamed Ferdinand of Aragon, his father-in-law, whom he compellit violentlie to quyt the kingdome of Spaine, and vith great danger of his estaite and perfon to vithdraw himself to Naples; a sufficient testimonie of his infatiable minde towardis other Princes dominiouns, in caiffe he had not bene prevented be untymous death. To whom succedit his sounne Charles, the fift Emperour, and King of Spaine, vhois actiouns are foe repeat in mens memories, and sett down foe largelie be divers famous hiftiographers, that yt ver superfluous to mentionat tham at all: for the league maide againft him by the holle Princes and potentates of Italie, aftir his unjust conquest of the Duchy of Millaine, and other principauties, sufficientlie testifies hou fearefull his arrogance and ambitioun ves to the neybor Princes of his aige.

Fr. Guic. lib. 16.  
Joan. Sleyd.

Cron. Angl.

Tyrannie in the  
Lou Countryes.

Guil. Guic. Hist.  
Belg.

Nou have we to treat of King Phillipp, who in ambitioun farre surmountes his predeceffors; for, in his very tender aige, he ves not contente of the exorbitant conqueift maide be his ancesters, bot, intending to adjoyne thairto the Realme of England, he married Marie, than Quein thairof, whom he inducit, schortlie efter the marriage, to tailie the Crowne unto him, and his airis vhosoever, fayling ayris gotten betuen them felfis: and for obteyning his intente he did use Cardinall Poulet [Pole], both for inducer of his said Queine, and for mediator betuein him and the subjectis of the Realme, who, ymmediately upon knowledg of his ambitious minde, altogether, verie visely, rejectit his sute. But his ambitioun and crueltie hes utterit the self, no less against some his ouin native subjects, chieflie in the Low Countryes, be ymprifonment, blood, and vrack, of infinit number of comon peple, and of divers noble men, who had bene at all tymes his cheife favorers, and most deutifull subjects, as ver the two brether, the Barons of Battenburg; who, efter longe imprifonment, ver cruelly behedit be the Duke of Alva, his lieutenant. The like, or greater crueltie, he comytted against the Countes of Egmont and Horne, th'one being kinfman to the said King, who not longe before did overthrou, (having chardge of the King), the French armie at St Quintin, and made prifoner the Conftable of France, then Lieutenant over the French armie: and both the Countes having accompanied him in all his voyages and interprifes,



and of his ouin catholick religioun; yit, in recompence of thair good service, vere both beheadit at Bruxells, the v<sup>th</sup> of June, 1567.

Divers other intollerable cruelties ver comytted by his foresaid Lieutenant against the holle countrie and inhabitants, by raising on tham many extraordinary exactions, customes, impostis, excises, and subsidies; and vorst of all, intendit to haue preffit them be the Spanish Inquisition, if thair constrainit revolt haid not rejectit his tirannical intention, which ves th'original of the holle troubles that hes continueit since. And of the great cruelties perpetrat in the rest of the tyme of Duk d'Alva his residens thair, in the tyme of Don Johan d'Austria, vherin intervenit the lamentable and most horrible saccagement of that famous cittie of Antwerp. And nou last, during the tyme of the government of the Duke of Parma, vherin hes fallin the ruyn of many riche, populous, and famous provinces, citties and tounes, as not only the histories declaires, bot men daylie fees vith thair eies.

And nou his late conquiest in Portugall, vether just or unjust, I remytt to the judgment of the vyser and more learned forte. Bot I cannot omytte hou unnaturallie his ambiitioun transported him to hunt for that kingdom; for, when his nepheu Sebastian, King of Portugall, vas futed be the King of Mauritania to assit him in recoverie of his kingdome from his brother, unjust usurpar thairof, he vould not yeild to his suite, unto the tyme he foucht to that effect th'advise and ayde of his uncle King Phillipp; who not only promisit him sufficient help of men and veschels, but earnestly poued him to profecute that interprise: In hope vhairof, Sebastian the King did prepair his armie to passe the Straitis, looking daylie for performance of his Uncles promes, vho not only diffapointit him at the prefixt tyme, in not sending him secours, bot, undir paine of death, inhibited all his subjects to accompanie his said nephewe in that journey. So that the yonge Prince vith his armie passit the sea, and vith him Mulei Mahomet, th'expellit King of Mauritania, and encounterit vith ther adverfarie, Mulei Malak, the usurper King, vhear, after a longe and fore conflict, all the thrie kinges died; and upon the said Mulei Malak ver letters founde, fende from King Phillipp, schauing he vould not assiste his nepheu against him; a verie evident signe of his desire to obtaine that kingdome, knauing that

Hist. Lusit.

King Phillipp his  
letters against his  
ovyn Nepheu.

his nepheu being cut of, thair ves no man of sufficient power to pretend any iust title thair to him, except one man, aigit of 82 yeares, a Cardinall named Henrie of Portugall, uncle both to King Phillipp, and to the laite King Sebastian, who schortlie died. And then King Phillipp, throu a procured faction of th'Eftaites of that countrie, partly by corruption, and partly by faire promifes, vithout any great difficulty, obteynit his former intent, and ves receaved King. Bot I cannot pas vith filence the recompence vhearvith his favorers and affistors ver gratifiet; for, efter his peaceable receptioun in that kingdom, thay presentit thair supplicatioun, craving, in recompence of thair good service, accomplishment of his promifes; vhairon they produced the handvret of his ambassadors, which he commandit them to present vith thair supplicatioun before the Colledg of his Judges in Lesbona; and that being done, the Judges gave this decreit following:—

Hist. Anton.

The decreit vherby ver recompensit the King of Spaine his favorers in Portugall.

“ King Phillipp being iust heritor of the kingdom of Portugal, yt ves not lesom to the complenars to sell the same for giftis or promifes, bot rather for that they offered yt not voluntarilie to the said King, they had incurred the penaltie of thair heades; and if the same haid appartainit to Don Antonio, they could not sell the same to the King of Spaine; vhearfor the King is noe vais obligit to the promifes made unto the complenars be his Embassadors; but, using his benignitie and clemencie, he absolves them from the former penaltie, vherof throu that cause they maid themselves guiltie.” A verie notable example for all men, bot chieffie them of this yle, who, throu faire promifes or trifling guiftes, are abusit in any forte to betraie the libertie of thair countrie, and speciallie to the King of Spaine. Let thairfore th'indifferent reader consider in vhat strait this yle, and the holle inhabitants thairof, as veil they who are his favorers as others, shalbe, in case he schall attein to the conquest thairof, in respect vhat extreamitie, rigor, and tyrannie he hes not only usit against such as he haith conquestit, bot evin against his ouin natie subjects and countries, who all haue taistit, as veil Papists as Protestants, hou intolerable a maister the Spaniard is.

Bot because many of our countrymen are allured, pertly be corruption, pertlie be blinde zeale, to beleve his enterprife to be iust, seeing he culors

the same to his favorers in Scotland with revenge of the Quein, the King his Mothers death in England, with revenge of injuries receaved and in both the realmes, with the restitution of the Roman religioun, the discourse following schall cleerely prove them to be only pretextuall causes, and the verie effectuall cause to be the conquest of this holle yle, for conservacion of his ovin estate and monarchie, which dependis chieflie and onlie in the preservacioun of the commoditie he reteiris from the Yndis, which, of the self, is evident. For no man th'estait of the King of Spaine doth knaue, but likvais knaveth, that in all the dominions he hes in Europe, the chairges of thair intertainment farre to exceed the profit. As to discend in particular, the profit that he dois reape of the Lou Countries is verie smalle, th'one half contyneuing in rebellion, and likelie to doe, th'other half, presently possesseit be him, so far exhaustit, throv the contynuall varrs, that in no vays of yt self is yt able to finde sufficient nouritour to the feu nomber now inhabiting yt, albeit a great pairt of the principalls, both of the country and tounes, abandonet thair duellingis, some for extreme povertie, other for escheuing tyrannie, and hes reteirit themselfis to Holland, Zealand, and divers forraine countries. So that, as I have hard some of them selfis affirme, the yearlie interteinement of thois varres exceedeth the prouffit above two millions of gould, which he is not able to drawe from all his other dominions in Europe.

His commoditie  
from Yndis.

The Lou  
Countries.

Bourgoinge being verie small prouffit to him, and all employed in intertainment of the country men. The revenue of Naples and Cecill dois scairfly keip the countreys in subjection, partlie bestouet upon the garrifouns, and partlie gevin out to the Barons of the countrie. The same is to be said of the Duchie of Millaine, vhear he interteynis great garrifouns, lik as he dois in all his dominions in Italie. Beside this, he hes to provide from his coffers for the intertainment of his galleyes in Naples, Cecill, and the rest in Italie.

Bourgoinge.

Naples,  
Cecill.

Millaine.

In Portugal he is forced to hold above their heades a great armie, beside the interteyneidos or pensioners, which amountes to a farre greater sounge then the yearely deuty of this country yt self. As for the dominions in Spaine, all men knoweth the renewe of them not to be great, and with difficultie could he or his predecessors ever haue any great

Portugal.

Navarr,  
Granada,  
Aragon.

thing by extraordinarie impost, and yit is he constrainit dayly to keepe in all frontier quarters of yt great garrifouns both for sea and land, having on the one side the King of Navarre, and on th'other the Moores of Barbarie, pretending for Granada, and Aragon daylie readie to revolt for th'auncient despyt they haue at the name of Castillan.

Barbaria.

In Barbaria, vhear he hath noe commoditie, for his ouin suretie he is constrainit to bestoue infinit chairdges. Beside all this, yt is an exorbitant money he bestoueth in France, Germanie, and all the pairtes of Europe, for intiseing men to serue his towrne. So that of necessite, yt is to be grauntit the moyen, vherwith all theis great matters are performed, to proceid allmost hollely from the Yndis, never one of his possesiouns in Europe being able to diffray the self; and thairfore, consequentlie, the conservatioun of his estaite and monarchie to depend upon the preservacoun of his commodities from the Yndis.

He must be master  
of the seas to pre-  
serve his commodi-  
tie from the Yndis.  
Sir Francis Drake  
his first exploit.

Bot this his commoditie cannot be preservit, onles he be perpetually maister of the seas, vchich cannot be denyit, seeing, ever since the first exploit of Sir Francis Drake, who had onlie in companie three schippes or foure, with the vchich he reft the King of Spaine his holle flotte, the said King hes bein constraynit to bestowe the one half for fastie of th'other. And yit, if the sea forces of England, Holland, and Zealand had not otherwise bene occupied, he coulde not haue maide forces sufficient to haue defendit yearlie his flotte, against th'armie navale of thois three countreys. Lyk as, yit he is not able to doe, if ther other impeschments ver removit, vchich is not altogether impossible be fundric accidents, for albeyt be assistance of other potent Princes, efter long preparatioun, he is able to furnish such an armie as ves sein this last yeare, for one exploit in sevin or eight yeares; yit yt is easie to any vho knoveth th'estait of Spaine, to confidder him not to be able to maintaine the same yearlie, in respect vhairof he justly accountes for preservacioun of his commoditie from the Yndis, he must be pepeatually maister of the sea. To the vchich he is never able to attein, onles he have on this fyde of Europe, in Germanick sea, some commodious and capable portes for building and preparatioun of great and other veschells necessarie for that effect: seeing in all the costes of his dominiouns, either on the great ocean, or yit on the Mediterran Yberick sea,

He must have cap-  
able portes in the  
Germanick sea.

he hes scarflie vood fufficient to build one fchippe. In the Germanick fea, he can pretende for noe other capable portes except them of his ouin countryes, Holland and Zeland, presentlie in revolt from him, for avoyding tyrannie (as faid is), whom alfo he is never able to drawe fully to his obedience, and to make to ferve his tourne vithout he be affurit of England; becaufe, being deftitute of all fecours from other Princes, efter the death of the Duke of Alançon, they maid offer of themfelfis and thair fervice to the Quein of England, and, amongft other conditiones, ingagit for their fidelitie their cheif ftrenthis; vvhich fhe acceptit, and yet keips them in her handes, and received thois countryes in her ouin protection. So, that nou yt is not poffible for them to revolt, although they vould; yea, albeyt they might revolt, thair fea forces fhould be altogether inutile for the King of Spaine, be reafon of the Straites, vvhair his forces being the farre ftronger, lyeis betuein him and them, and ever fchall impeafche thair joyning. And on th'other pairte, to drawe England from Holland and Zeland, he findeth greater difficultie yet, being from the beginning a pairt of the furetie of thair ouin eftaite, vvhich thay confidderit not fo veale of before, as at this tyme. Neither ver they tyed to fuche neceffitie, for in King Charles the 9<sup>th</sup> his tyme of Fraunce, thair ves a treatie betuein the faid King, the Quein of England, the Princes of Germanie, and th'eiftates of the Lou Countries; where, be all thefe Princes yt ves founde the King of Spaine to be a verie dangerous neybour, in refpect of his greatnes, and thairfore, upon the offer of th'eiftates to thair fubjectioun, it ves thought meit, rather be a concurrence of Princes then any one of them, that th'offer fhould be acceptit, and fo concludit that the King of France fhould have feafit vith Flanders, Arthois, and Henault; the Princes of Germanie vith Brabant, and the countries adjacent, and for them the Prince of Aurance fchould have bein deputed Governor; and the Quein of England, vith Holland and Zealand. Vvhich treatie effectuat not, for that fche vould not that tyme enter in offence againft the King of Spaine, albeyt yt ves concludit to be the furetie of her eftaite, like as fche hath founde fince, and in convenient tyme did remead her former error; for if this laft year thois countries haid not bene at her devotion, and her forces in thair cheif portes, yt may be eafilie conjectured in vvhart danger

He must be affurit  
of England.

A pairte of the  
suretie of th'estaite  
of Eng. the protec-  
tion of Holland and  
Zealand.

Queen of England  
loth to irritat the  
King of Spain.

1588—The dissipation of the Spanish armie, the laik of a commodious receptioun.

The alteration of the present estait of England.  
England and Spaine irreconciliable.

Difficulties in the alteration of the present estaite of England.

Difficulties in the person of the Queen of Scots.

her estaite schould have fallen by the Spanish armie, which being greater then th'English, ves not only dissipated for the vant of a commodious receptioun: vchich tyeth her strictlie to retein Holland and Zeland as a pairt of her suretie, vhairof yt necessarily folloveth, to have Holland and Zeland ferving for the King of Spaine his use, he must be affurit of England, because he cannot have th'one vith out th'other: A matter altogether impossible, except the present estait thereof be alterit, both for the diversitie in the religioun, and for th'inimitie vchich hes alreadie taken so deip roote on his pairt, for the great injuries he alledges him to have recevit of England; and on the pairt of the present estaite of England, for th'open revenge evidentlie intendit for the vrack and overthrou thair of: so that all hope of reconciliatioun is cuttit away, and th'one must subdue th'other, vchich plainely declaris the King of Spaine can noe vayes be assured of England, vithout th'estaite thair of be chainged. And albeyt th'estaite thair of ver changit, and put in the handes of any the iust titulars of that Croune, he findeth himself in as great difficultie as of before: for the King of Scotland being the first, he fees in him the same impediment is both in religioun, and other vayes, vchich is in the present estaite. Like as he feis in all th'others pretending richt of succeffion to that Croun, vherat noe man schould mervell, seeing he could never finde a competencie in the perfoun of the Quein of Scotland, sche being of his ouin Catholick Roman religion; for yt ves proponit during her being in England, that to be affurit of th'estaite in England, yt ves sufficient suretie for the King of Spaine to affist her to attayne to that kingdom; yit he, weying her efter his ovin humor, knowing her to be a vyse princeffe, esteimit sche vould respect her ovin advantage more nor his suretie, and preferre *utile honesto*: and thairfore he thought be her preferment he ves no vayis affurit of the estaite of England, vchich, vithout doubt, ves the cause that stayit him so long from attempting against England, for feare to put her in good caire. For remead vhairof her freinds in France, vith concurrence of some of her ouin subjects thair, devisit an apparent contentment, and proponit a duple marriage betuein herself and the King of Spaine, his Maiefty her sonne and the said King of Spaine his second daughter; vchich noe vayis contented the King of Spaine, for

he allegit yt ves some shadou of furetie for himselfe, but not for his sounes or successors, feing the King of Scotland being a Protestaunt prince, ves to succed his Mother; and to obviat that, her frendes thought convenient that the King her sounes should be sende in Spaine to be brocht upp in the Catholick religioun. Bot their matters drew to such lenth, be slow deliberacioun of her freindes in France, and doutsome expectatioun of the King of Spaine, that, in the mid tyme, sche unhappilie died. Since which tyme the King of Spaine yit advised and founde yt meiter for his veil, be reason of his aige, to be yit assured of England, then to intend the conquest of yt; in respect the matter cannot bot fall in great lenth, and being decessit in his olde aige, his death may cast his holle dominions louse, chieflie his most assured subjects being imployit in so long-some a varre; and thairfore, did once againe deliberat to sie if he could be assured of England, the King of Scotland yit being in possessioun of yt; bot in th'ende fand no more certainties that vaie, nor he did finde at his first advisement, when the Quein of Scotland ves yit living. And thairfore he concludit that a necessitie for his own furetie constrainit him to the conquest of England. Vhairupon resultit a greater difficultie, for he fand yt a verie hard matter, and almost impossible, to conquere England, without assistance of Scotland; first, be reason England is so veile fortified on the holle sea costes, that his armie dare not hazard to disceind on yt; nixt, be reason of the amitie and league standing betuein the two Princes and countries, vhairby th'one is bound to assist th'other. So that he, not being assured of Scotland, must be inforced to provyd als great armie almost for yt as for England,—a matter very difficult and impossible, feing what tyme and chairdges he hes consumed for the preparatioun of one, and that his aige and sicknes permitts no protraction of tyme. And thairfore the remead of this difficultie he fand, that it ves to seik Scotland, either in alluring the King himself, or then, according to this accustomed procedor, be corruption, or faire promises, to allure a faction to his effect, of the subjects within the same.

If he should have fought the King, he behoveth to deale with him, either simplie, conditionallie, or politicklie. Simplie, he could not deale, because he fand yt altogether repugnant to his dissiinge of the conquest of Eng-

Conquest of England be a necessity.

No conquering of England without concurrence of Scotland.

Thrie veyes to seik the King of Scotland.

land, (as said is), seeing the King of Scotland is just titular to the succession of the Crowne thair of. It was advised, thairfore, to sute the King conditionallie, in offering him assistance in revenge of his Mothers death, and all landes and possessions which ever appertinit to any King of Scotland, nor annixit to the Crowne of Englande. But thairin he was resolvit be some Scottis man, the matter to touch the King of Scotland, so farre in princelie honor, that he could not accept of yt; and soe yt was thought expedient it should not be proponit. As lykevays he found yt was not his fuertie, being just titular to the holle; which made the King of Spaine resolve to sute the King of Scotland only politickly, and to let him know nothing of the treuth, but only his pretextuall causes, and making him beleif that his intention was only revenge of the Queens death, and of his ouin particuler griefes.

In this politick deliberation the King of Spain continueit a long tyme, efter the death of the Quein, hoping that matters should not have been packed upp betuein the Quein of England and the King of Scotland. Bot how soon her Embassadors were recevit in Scotland, he found that policie could no longer serve him, and thairfore concludit the King was no longer to be fought, but the subjects to be steirit upp to a factioun, yit not all, but such as were suspect in religioun, and malecontentit of th'estait. And to that effect, thair were send into Scotland divers Jesuits, who first superficially brake the matter; next, Robert Bruce and one Capitain Foster were send, with some quantitie of gould, to distribute be th'advice of the Jesuits. Yit finding little effect, the gould was not distribute be them unto the tyme the Bishopp of Dunblaine came into Scotland, who had bene 4 or 5 monethes in Paris, awaiting for advertisement. Efter him were sende Colonel Simple, who, having full power of the Duck Parma be the Bishopp his advyse, causit Robert Bruce to corrupt with the gould sundry noblemen and gentillmen, and movit them to the last yeares attemptats, chieflie to th'insurrection in the North, which, throu feiblenes of the principalls, took such effect, as did thair Spanish armie. The dissipation whair of having animat the Spaniard to the extreme persecution of his intendit diffing, maks him no less diligent, be the seditious Jesuits and others his factious agents, to procure within this realme

The indutifull subjects of Scotland steirit upp be the King of Spaine. Jesuits beginners of all sedition.

The King of Spain his agents also busie this year as the last.



at this tyme a corrupted number of noblemen and others then of before: yea, and thairto he is more bent, being acquaintit hov neceffarie th'aide of fuch a faction in Scotland fhall be for obtayning his intente, havand by experience founde that the favour of Scotland micht have bene fufficient fafetie to his holle navie, difperfit by a blafte of contrarie vinde fend doune from God; whom he knavis to be als michtie this year as the laft, which pouffis him now the more earnestlie to offer to the factionars villinglie, all kinde of fecours that the laft yeare be them ves craivit, and not obteynit, as veile of men as of money, vhairof alreadie a pairt they have recevyt, and farther is promifit to their contentement; as in like manner fecours of men in caice neide beis, providing they firft fhall frankelie goe fordvert to fatiffie his expectation, which they have promifit. And vhat conventiouns, vhat privie meittings, vhat quyit traffick, is amongft themfelfis, and vhat daylie perfuafions are ufed to feduce others not yit of thair opinion, is fo notorious throvout Scotland, that I defift in any forte to fafche the reader in perticularizing the fame. So that be this Discours, all men may evidentlie fie the only diffigne of the King of Spaine for confervation of his monarchie and eftaite, to be the conquest of England, and confequentlie of Scotland, as plainly appeiris be his not dealing with his Maiefties felf, nor craving his ovin benevolence and concurrence, bot fteiring up a forte of his Maiefties factious fubjects to ferve for the tyme his intent; which I dout not, if he ver in Scotland, he fhould fubftantiouflic obviat, as his paynes, valor, and diligence this laft yeare may eafilie move all men to thinke. And thairfore, yt is meiteft, in his abfence, that all his deutifull fubjects fhould to thair abilities concurre amongft themfelfis, and vith th'eftaite of England, according to the vill and inclinacion which they have fein in his Maiefty, for defence of the libertie of th'Ylle, in refpect of his intereft to the holle, and in refpect that noe honeft Scottifhman can think bot it is better to have an Englifhman neybour then a Spaniard maifter.

Conclusion.

Duty of the fubjects of Scotland in the Kings abfence.

Nou, for the better eafe and information of the reader, I have fett doun brieflie the fomme of the holle Discours in this epilogue following.

1. The Spaniard attempts againft England for the confervation of his ouin eftaite and monarchie.

2. The conservation of his estate and monarchie depends upon the preservation of the commodities he doeth retire from the Yndis.

3. The preservation of the commodity he doeth retire from the Yndis, consistis in that he be perpetuallie maister of the seas.

4. That he be maister perpetuallie of the seas, yt is necessarie that he have fully subjection of Holland and Zeland, his ouin naturall countryes

5. To have fullie subjection of Holland and Zeland, yt is requisite he be assured of England.

6. To be assured of England, th'estait of it must be changit.

7. Th'estait of yt being changit, and yt to fall in the handes of his Maiestie of Scotland, or any having just interest, he shall be in no better caice, and finde noe further fuertie, then be the presente estate: thairfore, his fuertie craivis the conquest of yt.

8. The conquest of England, without th'aide and concurrence of Scotland, it is difficill and almost impossible, so he findes Scotland is to be fought.

9. To feik Scotland, yt must either be in the person of the King, or then be steering upp a faction of seditious subjects to favour his course.

10. To feik Scotland in the person of the King, yt must be either simplie, conditionally, or politickly.

11. Simplie he cannot feik the King, because yt repugnis to his disfigure.

12. Conditionally to feik the King of Scotland, his princely honor permitts not on his part that he shall accept of any condition; and on the King of Spaine his part, his fuertie permitts not to have the King of Scotland, being just successor, to be his neighbour.

13. To feik the King of Scotland politicklie, he findeth he cannot, be reason of his good will and affection towardis the Quein, and presente estate of England: and soe concludeth, noe wayes the King but the subjects of Scotland to be fought, lyk as presentlie he doeth.

Be this his Maiestie may fie formally concludit the Spaniards disfigure, alwayes groundit for his ruyn, and his veyle and standing repugnant to the King of Spaine his disfigure. Thairfor, himself haith to confider of his ouin estate and fuertie; and his subjects, in his absence, to doe that which villinglie he would performe, in caice he ver presente himself. 26 Feb.

1590

KING JAMES VI. TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

TRUSTY AND WEILBELOUIT COUNSALLOUR, We greit yow hairtlie weill: Being resolwit to pas in propir perfone towart þe north partis of our realme, at þe tyme prescryuit, ffor prosequitioun of þe papist Erllis and vpairis trublaris of þe quiet esteat of þe cuntrey, according to our last proclamatioun direct þairanent, neccessar it is, That befor our taking iornay ffor resolutioun off our Esteatis be had quhat preparatiounis is requisit þairto; quhilk hes mowit ws, ryght effecteuillie, to desyr yow to meit ws at Edinburgh ypone þe xxvj of Apryll instant, ffor your gud adwyis and opinioun to be gewin anent fik preparatiounis as ar neidfull for our said iornay, as ye will kyth your zeall and dewtifull affectioun towart þe furtherance of þe godlie and honest actioun, and will do ws speciall gud plesour and seruice. Sa, lippinning affuredlie for your preceis keiping of þe dyet, We commit yow to God. Frome Stirling, þe xvj of Apryll, 1594.



To our trusty and weilbelouit  
Counfallour, the Master of Gray.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO MR JOHN LINDSAY, OF BALCARRAS.<sup>2</sup>

MY LORD, I haue send vith this all I promist, and fume forther. Receaue the Affociatioun, the ordre of the Quene her accusatioun, the vrytis found;

In nombre sex,  
subscryuit be  
the Counsell of  
England.

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the possession of Francis, Lord Gray.

<sup>2</sup> From the original among the Balcarras Papers, vol. vi., in the Advocates Library. A fac-simile of this letter is given as a frontispiece to this work.

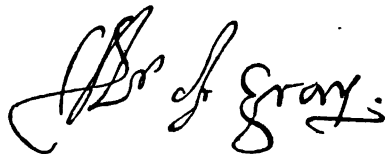
befyd this, to let you knou hou maiters paf, I haue fend you a lettre of the Quene, vrottin to his Maieftie her fone; Fontainie her agentis lettre to the King; the articles he craueit in her name. Sindrie other thingis I haue, quhilks villingly I would let you fee, bot in my abfence it ver hard to commit them to the receptioun of any my feruantis. As for thir, it vill please your Lordship copie them, and ether fend them, or delyuer them to my vyf in my abfence: I would haue bein loth to haue fend fome of theis to many vithin Scotland.

I vill requyft your Lordship caufe fend me a copie of your Discours DE JURE ANGLICANO, quhilk I fau in Falkland.

My Father is fommonit to be in Linlythco the 22, befor the Counfell. His inhabilitie to all men is knouin; as for the maiter, he refufit not, bot the ordour ves not formell, nether haid the officer any chairdge, nor fufficient miffiue, as your Lordship vill fee. Therfor, I pray your Lordship hould hand that he be not forther troublit then the receauing of the pledge, quhilk he will do villingly, he being presentit according to the Act of Parliament. I recommend it then to your Lordships patrocinie.

Receaeue a lettre of the King of France, an vther of the Duke of Guife to the King, only for the formes. I forgot, vhen I directit my feruant to Edinburch, to tak the key of my cabinet, quhilk is the caufe I fend not the buk of Styllis, bot it fhallbe vith you in Lythcoe, or fchortly efter. To quhilk and ever I commit your Lordship to Godis holy protection. Dundie, this 15 Sept. 1596.

Your Lordships louing freind to commaund,



To his honored freind,  
My Lord Secretairie to  
His Maieftie.

It vill please your Lordship to remember, that the Lordis of Inchmartin and Kinnard receaue no rigour.

Receaue 15 pieces to be copeit, and delyuerit to my Vyf.

*Inuentour of vrytis delyuerit to the Secretaire, 15 Sept. 1596.*

A copie of ane lettre of the Quene of Scotland to her Sone.

Fontainie her agentis lettre to the King.

Fontainie his Articles in the Quene her name to his Maieftie.

Copie of the Englifch Affociatioun.

The caufes of condemnatioun of the Gentlemen arreynit.

The names of the Affyfe.

Reafouns for the Quene of Scotland.

Reafouns contrarie.

The forme of proceeding agentf her.

Sex letteres fubfcryuit be the Counfell of England.

In nombre 15.

SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, What I haue written to you, in þe inclofed, I defire fhould be treuly feen to þe King; for I am refolued to come no nearer, then by my demonstratiue courfes in my fervices without infinuation in particuler, or acompting (by apology) further then to þe conscience of an honeft fervant to my deereft Soveraine, and a good patriot to my Contry; which refolution, (with þe vieu of my actions,) fhall cleare me to the world temporall, and fave me at þe day of Judgment, where I fhall dare to pleade þat in my foule there neuer entred bafe or malicious practife againft him; whose hart I prefume (being guyded by God, who is þe ruler of Princes,) will

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Advocates Library. It bears neither address nor date, although it evidently appears to have been written towards the end of autumn 1600.

be as soon satisfied by his divine influence, as by any vulgar or subordinate addresses or flatteries of mine. To you, I yield thanks for your good will, and because I would have you return me such an answer as may still satisfy my Mistress, that you did but propound it *de bene esse*, (and with desire that the Queens mynd should approve it, for whose service you wished it especially,) let your answer reply in that stile; saying, that I need not dislike you, (nor the Queen dislike your counsels in it). But I pray you, Sir, let the King, in any case, see my letter, and in your letter return his true answer, for I will shew it to the Queen what ever it be.

For the Duke of Nevers, he is gone back, and shewed here no purpose to go further northward, for which the Queen took his visitation the more grateful, and I dare say of that she kept no counsaile to him self. For your sake, be sure I will have no idle thoughts in that business; but I can not yet answer you directly, for, as much lies in the forme as the matter, and I may peradventure better carve you out a peece of work then your cousin Grey can, for land is land, and lease is land in valuation: but of this I can write no more certainty yet, then of mine owne desires; vpon your next dispatch I shall be readyer. In the meane tyme, what Hamilton brings I know not; but I do love the man, and have no purpose to do otherwise. For the Duke, what he sends I know not, but sure I am, my pen shall reply to none in Scotland (if not by order) but your self, (I meane persons of rank and place). Sir, I assure you, the noble man is very worthy, and I do with the King had more such well tempered subiects. For the Kings owne addresses hyther, or dayly dispatches from hence, I can not reade the riddle; but I think fuerly as you do, they are all but visions of idolls, offered and multiplied to him by such as desire thanks. For the other 2, that still misleade him from believing iustly of me, they are wise, and were to blame, if they should not maintaine their owne former principles, *sed jacta est alea*; onely I am sorry to see by you, that all is fish that comes to nett, and that it is so easy for men about a Prince to make him value poor silly fellows for men of use, because they are painted to him to be men that have place or credit here (as you say) with the Queen or her Counsaile, a matter not strange to me. If that be true which you do write, that the King thinks Ladies can do him also such pleasure, fuerly I can hardly

think it to be treu that þe Lady you write of doth or can write to him. Think not þat her Father knowes it, for, God knowes, he wold treade her vnder his feet, rather then therby to adventure his fortune for þe present, thogh, in my foule, otherwise he dreames of no practife. Let me knou, therefore, Sir, treuly, what is treu, and I will take it for a courtesy, and vse it like a gentleman. When your Son comes I will do þat which you shall think fitt for me to you, who shall ever find me,

Your assured frend,

Ro. CECYLL.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO CARDINAL BORGHESE.<sup>1</sup>

IN Scotiâ, tumultuofè omnia fatis apparent; et ministri Calviniani fatis adhuc et possunt et præfunt. Rex, ut potest, non pro religione, sed pro læsâ suâ majestate, et autoritate, in contrarium aliquo modo nititur. Quæ, pro Rege, Romæ acta erant, elapsâ hyeme, Reginæ Angliæ non minus sunt nota quam ipsis actoribus, incitiâ fortè negotiantium. Itaque, non video quod quæ Regis nomine afferabantur, præstari possint; neque quod vera sint, præcipuè de ipsius religione. *James*, verè cum Catholicis favere puto, cum nihil contra suam ipsius voluntatem adhuc moliti sunt.

Comes Gourius cum fratre, præfente ipso Rege, trucidati sunt: At, de eâ re, quod adhuc nihil comparuit, incertè relinquo. Quæ mihi scripsit quidam aulicus, hîc accipe; et, pro interprete, utere Jacobo Scaveo, Scoto.

<sup>1</sup> From the Sloane MSS. in the Brit. Museum, No. 4160, art. 114, where it is thus marked: 'The Master of Gray to Cardinal Borghese, from London, 12 Cal. Novemb. 1630, sent to the Nuncio at Brussels.' The date 1630 is evidently a mistake, as the letter must have been written shortly after the slaughter of the Earl of Gowry, which happened in August 1600.

SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, I haue now receaued your lettre of the 16th, written before a short lettre of mine to Raph Grey, bearing date pe 16th, came to yowr hands, wherby yow may perceauue my silence greu not owt of any loose regard of those things which yow haue recomended, (either concerning your self or others;) for it is treu, pat hither came such a multiplicity of reports, by some of your owne nation, some pat you were fledd into France, others pat yow had ben in a privat combatt slaine, as I was full of anxiety, and desirous to know where my lettre shold find yow. But, Sir, I pray yow now receaue herewith pe treuth of all pe proceedings in this vn lucky matter which hath ben recomended hyther to pe Queen. First, I must needs tell yow, that pe Queen still brandleth in her mind, owt of an irremouable jelousy, pat howsoever the futes concerning the brethern and sisters of Gowry haue ben sent hyther vnder a vaile of secrefy, that pe King him self is not ignorant of it; but rather, pat he letts it runn on by others, to discouer whyther any of pe former malicious imputations vppon pe Queen in pat matter, (because his fact succeeded his passadg by this Court,) might be discouered by any extraordinary succeeding fauour from hence, especially to those with whom she neuer held any correspondency; wherein, as God (pe Father of Heauen) knoweth, how farr she was from any thought or act of participation, so I must plainly say to yow, (for she speakes it evry day,) pat pe carriadg of the busines hyther hath ben so contrary to pe reservednes desired there, as it hath much stuck in her Maiesties mynd; and so much pe rather becawse the subject of pe request was to comend a Lady, a person of honour, of note and quality, to serve her; which her Maiesty still repeateth to be a matter so well knowne vnto you, to be farr from her mind to grant, as you cold haue made pe answer before the question. This, Sir, is the substance of all pat I cold draw from a mynd

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Advocates Library. This letter appears to have been written in 1601.



resolved to suspect all things þat come *ab Aquilone*, and treu it is, þat I dyd neuer hold it but as an vnfortunate fwte; for first, myne owne Soverain, who hath judgment to discern þat to please þe Queen there is not to be farther of another day from þe Kings favour, wold easly suspect þat whatsoever I dyd, (more then belongs meerly to my place, which is to receaue and retourn lettres,) in furthering any desires from thence, cold hardly be severed from some creeping desire in me to become gracious to the future. Next, for þe Queen þat is there, who knowes me not but by heare say, she, finding no better successe, may be apt to suspect þat I haue not dealt as I shold do; in which confyderation I was willing to lett þe othre lettre to my Lady Warwick go on, both because the Queen might be moved by some other as well as my self, (and indeed, þe matter and person confydered, fitlier serving her sex then another;) next, I knew it wold make þe Queen þe more assured þat all hope was not only in me but in others: all which notwithstanding, her Maiesty hath retourned plainly a negative in þat matter, both to her and me, and hath desired also to be excused in this matter without ill interpretation. This answer was made some 6 dayes since, and on the neck of it I haue receaued your last dispatch, in which two lettres were inclosed, which, till this day, I cold not deliuer, for I haue ben sick this good whyle, thogh now come well to Court, which greu lately by a relapse after a late keping in vppon a great cold. To this, Sir, being of another forme, directed to the Queen her self, I can make no present answer; for, first, the lettres are neuely deliuered; next, her Maiesty will answer this with her owne hand; and yet because I wold not, in desire to advertise all advertise nothing, I think good to impart vnto yow thus much by this present. Th'agent Nycolson advertised hyther þat Scotland ronge of fauours don to th'Erl Gourys sifter; some that I had intelligence with her vnderhand, by þe Queens direction; others þat the Queen maintained her. And of this subiect I know not almost who spake not, wheruppon the Queen willed þe Agent there to advertise the King, þat treu it was she had ben in London, and some Ladyes about her, (because she was a Lady,) pitied her, but she had neuer giuen her acces, nor wold meddle with those þat were, (by his protestation so much disagreeable to him;) and this loose tale was all þat Nycolson had in chardge, with which the King, as it seemed, was well satisfied. And thus, hauing

now related all I know, it remaines þat I add this, þat I muſt chaleng of yow, (whoſe deſtiny hath ben to bring me into this rugged path,) firſt, to make my caſe your owne, and then to remember þat which yowr owne ſelf wrote, þat ſervants to great Princes muſt make no vowes, and therefore other mens good wills muſt not be cenſured by [ill] ſucceſſes. Next, þat as your ſelf do find in your mind an inward affection (befyds loialty) to þe vertewes and comandments of þat Princeſs, ſo yow will imagine of me, (whoſe obligation is more infinite then any can be to his Soverain, becauſe I am þe creature of her hands,) þat in whatſoever I may not haſard þe grieving of her mind, (which it wold be if ſhe thoght I had a thoght beyond her,) I will alwaies be ready to do þat Queen ſervice; not becauſe ſhe is Queen of Scotts, and ſo yow may think I hold my ſelf in pollicy tied to ingratiat myſelf, but becauſe ſhe is a noble Princeſs, full of honour and conſtancy, and hath truſted me: with which I now muſt end this lettrec, and ever reſt honeſtly,

*Your affects  
made from  
R. Cecyll*

SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, I haue answered moſt of þe contents of your 3 lettres in this other lardg diſcourſe, and haue alſo let yow know what we do in theſe ſouthern

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Advocates Library. The ſignature to this letter is croſſed by ſeveral ſtrokes of the pen. The 'lardg diſcourſe' alluded to is apparently the following letter, in another hand, though in ſome parts bearing Cecyll's own corrections. The date, 1602, is marked on the back; and from the reference which is made to certain events, it has undoubtedly been written early in that year.

parts of þe world. It remaineth now þat I do shortly let yow knou in this lettre þat there is not an vntreu word in þat to my knoledg; and next, þat for my offer, (rather to be yowr pledg for þe maintenance of your Sonn<sup>1</sup> abroad, till your owne meanes better served you,) then to driue you for such a tryfle to resort to her Maiefty, (my state neuer so ill sortyng with my affections as to be to seek for such a courtesy to a gentleman of qwality, and my freend, as I hold you to be,) you shall vnderstand þat if yow let me know whyther yow will haue his payments assigned either to Roan or to Paris, I will cause a Bill to be sent or deliuered to whom yow will apoint me by your next lettre, wherby he shall be deuly payd of (400) Crownes yearly, by half yeares portion, for which he shall haue his first half yeares assignation before hand. If yow will haue this bill sent to yow eyther for Paris, Roan, Orleance, or any other cyty where exchang runneth in France, I will send it yow by post to Mr Rafe Greys; but I will not apoint any payments to be assigned into Scotland, for of this poor mole-hill wold be raised a rampart for many a fool to bestow his canon vppon. And it shold be decreed þat all such courtesies, which are but feathers tossed between men of quality or ingenuity, draw with them some consequences of practife or combination, of which, I protest to þe Lord, I am resolu'd to discard all idle ouertures, more then to keep frendship with one or two such as your self, wherby I may be informed, without fraud, how things go; and so accomodate all things to þe preservation of amity, in which consisteth þe fælicity of þe whole Iland. For þe Erle of Marr his opposition to you so violently, it makes me wonder, because he seemed here to me to haue a mind not ill prepared for frendship; but it may be his doubt, lest yow wold part stakes with his power about his Soverain, may yeld yow þe reflexions of bitter æmulation. But to God I leaue yow, for yow haue a strange Court, and strang particularitys (me think) pofess yow, so as for mine owne part I will resolute neuer to pass þe riuer of Twede, thogh if yow come hyther in his naturall tyme I will hope þat

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Gray, the Master's eldest son, afterwards eighth Lord Gray. He married Anna Ogilvie, daughter of Sir Walter Ogilvie of Findlater. His father, Patrick Lord Gray, was a party to the contract, which was dated at Foullis, Dec. 3, 1608.

we fouthern men fhall rectify yow with our mild medecins, and temper the violence and inconstancy of your humours.

Ro. CECYLL.

If yow heare any expectation of our Parliament to do any wonders, take my woord pat we fhall make it an epitome, and after our fubfydy, herken to no other proiects; and belieue me, Sir, now Queen Elizabeth gouerns and not Rychard 2, as she fhould haue ben, if Henry the 4th had prospered.

SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.

SIR, Since your laft difpatches (of the 19 and 25th of July), I remayned ftill in expectation what to heare from you; the rather becaufe I perceaued by them you weare declyninge agayne, as alfoe that I founde by fome woords in Mr Grayes lettre, that you, havinge vnderftood of a new purpofe in the Kynge to command you to ward, had taken the fea; which did much greiue me, in regard of the hope I had, that your honeft and difcreet indeuours would haue fett you in a better degree for the Kings favour, and whereof I was ever fince in payne to heare the iffue, which hath been [the] caufe of my filence. Now haue I receaued from Mr Rafe Gray of the 13th of Awguft, and in it noe mention made of that perticuler, which keepeth me ftill in diftraction, becaufe I know not where my lettres fhall fynde you, and yet, (for anfwere to your late difpatches,) I thought not amiffe to adventure theife. I was by your lettres informed of the Dukes imployment, and of his defyre to know by you, (for which purpofe Forrest was addreffed vnto me,) whether his comminge into England fhould be well taken. Now, Sir, if you will know what moued me to forbear my anfwere to this, you fhall vnderftand, that if I had feene that the Duke, had depended in this perticuler only vppon my anfwere to you, I had then forthwith made a difpatch, both becaufe it fhould haue ap-

peared, that I esteeme my correspondency with you, (wherein the more we haue been sifted, the clearer I hope we are founde,) as alsoe that the Duke may know how farr her Maiesty is from neglectinge him, or any thinge that comes from him. But, Sir, before your lettre came to me, (at the leaft before Forrest arriued, after whose adrefs I was to make you answere,) here was Mr Symple of Beltrefs arrived, whoe brought a lettre from the Kynge, wherein he tooke notice of her Maiesties proceedings with his Embassadour, and gaue her moderate thanks for all those perticulers. This gentleman allsoe dealt with me in that poynct concerninge the Duke,<sup>1</sup> to whom I could not haue been fylent without inconvenience. Soe as when Mr Forrest came, I only courteously receaued him, and confirmed her Maiesties good inclynation to give the Duke a good wellcome; and so thought your motion in that poynct required noe speedy answere. For Forrest, he professed good affection on the Dukes part in generall to her Maiesty, and said, if he mought receaue from me some private instructions, what I would wish him to doe now for her Maiesties seruice, he knew the Duke would doe it. I answered it with like complement, but told him, that his profession was generall, and soe was her Maiesties acceptation, which included all perticulers; but it was hard for her to direct him in perticuler what to doe in the negociacion, when shee knew nothinge of his instructions. Soe as her Maiesty did only recommend to his iudgment to applye himselfe to effect all those thinges which may best conferue the amyty, which shee would be ready to requite. Next, Sir, for the state of thinges in Scotland, as they haue relation vnto vs: Firft, be assured, that more then to hearken after any courses from Scotland or in it, which may be preiudiciall to this Estate, the Queene hath noe desygne, nor for my perticuler (I protest,) but with you doe I care to hould correspondency with any (but our agent) in that kingdome. Nether doth the Kinge (as I perceaue) now propounde any new, nor we deliberate of other grounds, then by the dispatch of the Erle of Marr, and his negociation was effected, with the perticulers whereof you were acquaynted.<sup>2</sup> For the calmes in

<sup>1</sup> Ludovick Duke of Lennox.

<sup>2</sup> 1601, May 31. The last day of Maii, the Earle of Marr, ambassador, came out of England; bot non knew quherfor he was sent, nor quhat he got.—*Birrel's Diary*, p. 54.

that Court vpon this late reconciliations, (for my owne part,) I fee noe great likelihood of perpetuity, nothinge beinge (in my late obseruation) more contrary to that Estate, then not to fynde varyetye in all such accidents. I am only forry, that howsoever others (not only detected but convinced) can fynde meanes to be restored, you remayne still in privation, vpon the shaddowes of such suspicions, as tyme it selfe (which is the parent of truth) hath cleared.

For the newes which we haue here, they doe consist principally in the constitution of the affayres of Ireland, and of the Low Countreyes, and there especially in the state of Ostende. For the first, her Maiesty hath dayly good and happie successe vpon the Rebells, whereby I make noe doubt but her Maiesty shall receaue speedy end of those troubles, if the descent of Spanish forces doe not giue a new life to that Rebellion, whereof we haue a great probability to suspect, because a Spanish fleet hath been discovered settlinge his course for that coast, soe as (vntill some further tyme) we cannot tell what iudgment to make. For Ostend, there lyeth before it a powrefull army, commanded by the person of the Archduke, whose opinion is in the feidge, supported by the disunited Provinces, in an incredible proportion, with all that can be prepared for a feidge, and augmented by 8000 men out of Italy. In the towne we haue bodies enough, for there are 5000 English, besyds Dutch, but the place is not well fortified, nether is the earth within it proper for reintrenchments; Soe as although (accordinge to the ould rules) many a playne Captayne would argue the impossibility to haue it taken, where there are soe many souldyers, as might safely make the enemy a breach, yet we see it dayly, that now great commanders that haue new experience in besieginge, and can carry their trenches before them, and are soe well furnished with store of artilery, as they haue often commodity to dismount their cannon within, doe alwayes, by sapping, eate into the rampart, and so carry townes in the ende; towards which misfortune, (if soe it should happen,) the absence of the Generall Vere<sup>1</sup> is a great helpe, whose comminge in, after the enemy

<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis Vere, second son of Geoffrey Vere, and grandson of John Vere Earl of Oxford. He was constituted general of the army of the States, and maintained with great vigour the defence of Ostend against the Spanish forces in 1601.

had been many dayes before it, did yet rayfe divers outwoorkes, thereby to wynn tyme, before he would only be putt to the defence of the walls. This gallant jentleman, after many fallyes, receaued a hurt in the head with a cannon splynter of the towne, which was broken by an other from the campe, and grew foe dangerously into fevers, as the furgeons all protested he was loft if he remoued not; because the contynuall volleys of cannon, booth within and without, did shake the brayne, then which there can be noe greater enemy to the wounds in the head. He is now at Middleborough, from whence he is to retourne foe soone as he is able. In the meane tyme, the States haue sent in (for a further supplye) Monfr. Chattilion with certayne troupes of French, and the Collonell of the Scottish regiment, with his companies, befyds a third regiment, which they call the Gueses, whoe weare those which revolted in the Fort of St Andrew at Bommell. All which troupes made vpp two thoufande, foe as there are aboute 7000 in the Towne, and (*sub sigillo confessionis*) I am playnly of opinion that it will be carried with tyme. Wherein it is not in our power to interrupt them, for that must be done with a powrefull army, which the States haue not. Thus haue you now as much newes as I can tell you, wherewith I end for this tyme, wifhinge to heare of you, that you are in your Soveraynes favour.

EARL OF SALISBURY TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

MY LORD, althogh I haue forborn to answer some off your lettres, since his Maiefties happy comming to þe Crowne, becawse some fals and idle

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Advocates Library. This letter bears no date, but it must have been written after Sir Robert Cecyll was created Earl of Salisbury, which was in 1605. It is evidently intended for the Master of Gray, who undoubtedly succeeded his father in the year 1608, if not previously, (although *Douglas*, in his *Peerage*, gives the year 1609 for that event). This accounts for his being addressed as 'My Lord.' By a charter dated March 10, 1608, (confirmed by King James VI., *Mag. Sig. L.* 45, fo. 157,) the Master, under the title of 'Patrick Lord Gray,' gives *Marie Stewart, Lady Gray, his spouse*, the liferent of the dominical lands of Foullis, &c.; which proves that he must have been then in possession

shaddowes were cast vppon our former correspondencys, which time (þe parent of trewth) hath made as cleer to þe world, as it is to our owne fowles, to haue ben free from any vnhoneft ends: yet, lest þat might be thought to proceed from some ill impreffion, which hath ben only th'effect of cawtion, (not to be misjudged in the first establisment of my fortune, which hath only prospered by þe treu and princely judgment which his Maiefty vsed, when there was question what is chaff and what is corn,) I haue thought it now, les then þe deu to our precedent frendship (contracted simply and only for þe advancement of his Maiesties higheft and iustest desires,) to let you know by this best convoy, of mine owne hand, both what I am to my self and to you. First, Sir, I must need acknoledg þat if I shall preferr any privat end of mine before his Maiesties service, I deserve to be wyped owt of þe booke of lyfe, for (my Lord) neuer servant oght so much to King or Master. Secondly, I confesse þat it is my second ambition to be able to serve my freends in all honest occasions. I pray your Lordship therfore conclude, þat it is neyther change of fortune, nor distance of place, which can make me proud or forgetfull, and therfore, let no doubt surprise yow þat I am not very ready to do you any frendly office. And for the contents of 2 of your last lettres, (one by Mr Panmeur, another by this bearir,) let this serue for answer. When yowr pen shall tell me yow are ready for your journey, I shall be as ready to procure yowr lycence. For your desire þat I wold freend þe yong jentleman, I haue made him know my frendship towards yow, and therfore assured him of my respect to yowr recomendation, and thogh it be hard to draw water where þe poole is so exhawfted, yet hath he had some refreshing as þe time wold serue, and therin must I do him right, þat it is farr vnder his owne merit.

Lastly, my Lord, for þe subiect wherof this jentleman shold haue spoken, (by þe creditt of your lettre,) let me tell you þat I shold haue ben of little vse in þat perticuler; for, althogh I found by him þat yowr owne judgment of þe chang of his estate had made yow change yowr proposition, yet (my

of the family estate and title. This deed also exposes another error of *Douglas*, who makes William Gray of Bandirrane the *son*, instead of the *brother*, of Patrick seventh Lord Gray. He is a witness to that deed, in which he is designed, '*Will. Gray de Bandirrane fratre germ. dicti Pat.*'



Lord) his condition before þe change was fuch as exceeded þe limitts of my walks, which are alredy to lardg for me to extend further, hauing more to take care of then is either safe for my fortune, or likely for me to difchardg, as I defire to do, where I ow fo much, as I know when I haue don all I can do, þat I ſhalbe but an vnprofitable ſervant. And thus hauing now preſented to yow both þe mynd and fortune of yowr old acquaintance, I end fo, and will continew,

Your affured frend,

R. SALISBURY.

If your journey depend vppon your health, I ſhalbe gladd it may ſtay.

EARL OF SALISBURY TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

MY LORD, Such is the difference and diſtinction between the neceſſarye correſpondencies and formall courteſies which paſſe between abſent freinds, as I ſhall not neede to ſay much for my ſilence, after ſoe often exchange of lettres, nor for my writinge now after ſo longe ſilence; ſeeing the change of tymes bredd the firſt alteration, and the accidents ariſinge ſince haue miniſtred new occaſion. For, as you lived then ſoe neere that fountayne, from whence this kingdome was to expect that peace and ſafetye only, (which rann ſuch a hazard in the declyninge adge of the late Queen, my gracious miſtreſs, of happie memorye,) as it became everye honeſt man, in dutye and diſcretion, to imbrace and cheriſh all that could or would giue vs here ether light or meanes to preferue the fame, eſpecially my ſelfe, whom practiſe had ſoe deeply wronged, and jealousye (inſeperable from her ſex and diſpoſition, whoſe only creature I was till her laſt breath,) ſoe much amated, as I durſt ſcarſe take hould of any way or meanes, dyrectly or particulerly, to expreſs my inocent affections to the higheſt

<sup>1</sup> From the original, written in a clerk's hand, in the Advocates Library.

there, for feare to be suspected here. Soe, when it pleased God (in the due tyme) to giue vs him, for whom we longed, (and with him such a world of happines and ornament, as hath made this Iland like the foun in the firmament,) I held it none of the woorst counsells for booth of vs, to dyfcontynew the ordinarye current of our former entercourse, vntill some further tyme might cleere and satiffye some vayne and hard impreffions of the grounds of our former correspondencye.

It remayneth, therefore, now that I acquaynt you, that where a Booke was lately published here, intituled *TRIPlici NODO, TRIPLEX CUNEUS*,<sup>1</sup> there is come from Rome a malicious Pamphlett in answere thereof; wherein (amonge other insolent and virulent arguments and pofitions) there is one passage in it, wherein the Kinge our maister is charged to haue written to the Pope and certain Cardinalls in her Maiesties tyme. Of which great scandall, I haue thought it fitt to aduertise you for diuerse respects: Firft, because it is the dutye of everye honest man (much more of men of place and qualite) to imploye both *oleum et operam* for preservation of their Maisters perfon and fortune from scandall and false accusation, especially such a King, whose accompteth his greatest strength to consist in his innocencye and sinceritye, and in such a cause, as cannot pass away in silence, without his Maiesties extreeme perill and preiudice. Towards which great and necessarye worke, on which his royall hart is soe much fixed, (and vppon soe iust grounds); though it is trew, that (amonge other of his seruants) his Maiesty may expect from me more perticularly then from any other, (in respect of my place,) some such indeuours as may further his royall

<sup>1</sup> This book was written by King James himself, and the answer to it by Cardinal Bellarmine. Sir George Carew, the English Ambassador, writes from France in 1608: "The book that hath been published by the title of '*Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus*,' was translated into French by some here, without my knowledge. But the Nuncio, hearing of it before it was fully printed, caused the impressions, by the Chancellor's commandment, to be forbidden. Tho' I guess at the author, yet, supposing there was good occasion for omitting his name, I thought it not fit to take any notice thereof publicly, without special direction. But I find that it is marvellously well received here among the learned men of this country, and specially Monsr. de V. and such like, so as I have written to a servant of mine in London to send me over some dozen or twenty copies of the same in Latin, or in French, if that impression be ended, to distribute among them here; for diuers haue sent unto me for that purpose."—*Sloane MSS.* in the Brit. Museum, No. 4160, art. 144.

intentions; yet, (all circumstances considered), I must be playne with you, my Lord, that I conceaue noe man can be of more vse to him then you in this particuler. For which purpose I haue thought fitt to make you this dispatch, not doubting but you will willingly contribute to his Maiesties pure and iust desyres, and cooperate with me, (that am your ould acquayntance and freind,) in the furtherance of the same; the rather because it shall appeare vnto you, as well in this particuler, as it hath done formerlye, that I haue been verie vnwilling to runn long in arere for any courtesyes with any man, or intend at this tyme to propound any thing to you, which shall not be of as good vse to you as to my self, when you shall well examyne the same. First, his Maiesty doth well consider, that there is nothing foe vntrew, but serues the tourne for the tyme, vntill tyme and truth confute the same. If this be trew, that his Maiesty hath done what is here reported, then must his Maiesty of necessitye be held, (as he is the greatest King,) foe one of the greatest diffemblers. A wounde, (I dare vndertake,) more greivous to him then any worldly misfortune, especially when the least note or marke may be sett vppon him, for any weaknesse or doublenesse in those thinges, which haue any aspect to religion or conscience. For avoydance whereof, there is but one of theise two wayes for him to take: the one, by some discouerye or correspondencye from thence, to procure certayne knowleidge whether this be trew or noe, that there are any such lettres; and next, how the same haue been procured, to the intent that the fact it selfe may be constantly denied, and the falshood retorted vppon the authors, if this be one in the number of their legeons of lyes; or in case they haue any such thing to shew, that there may be some meanes for his Maiesty to come to the knowleidge of those that haue foe notoriously betrayed him, in contriving such a practife, which his Maiesty knoweth can be by noe other meanes then by some surprising him vppon some sodayne, with insertinge those lettres vppon other pretences. Having now made you see how our deare Maisters honor lyes a bleeding, and made you likewise know my owne desyres and ends, which are only to declare my self noe less zealous then fortunate in this case, which concerneth him, whoe, for foe small meritts, hath multiplyed foe many more benefitts vppon me then is possible for me to deserue, and by me is held

more precious, and more deare, (if nature can add more to mans affections,) then I carryed to my late Souverayne, towards whom my loue and obligation weare foe great; I think good to remember you of that, which you imparted to me foe particularly at your being in England, when Sir Richard Preston was here after the 5th of August, concerning the employment of Mr Dromond and some others, with lettres from the King to the Pope and the Cardinalls, for the preferment of the Bishop of Veson, as well to confirme the truth of booth our conceits at that tyme, that the same might be gott, by some practife, from the King; as allfoe to intreat you (that had at that tyme foe particuler notyce of all the circumstances) to acquaynt me by the next dispatch, with as many particulers as you can remember of that matter, ether concerning Dromonds part in it, or any other that had been busye agents, in obtayning or carrying the same; by whose follye, if the King wittinglie had reposed any such trust in them, I remember wee were booth troubled to thinke what would be the effect. From which we see now their mallice can noe longer hold them. Hereby you shall both add to me some better grounds to sett my owne intelligence a worke, and, if I iudg aright, doe noe ill service to your selfe, by making his Maiefty see some effect of your endeavours, even in this particuler, wherein you haue not scaped some imputation, by the charitye which some of your illwillers lent you at that tyme, as if you had been one that had dealt in the same. I haue required this bearer to attend your pleasure, and retourne to me your answere, with all speed. And foe, wishing you health and all contentment, I end.

25 7bre 1608.

*Your assured L<sup>ov</sup>ing  
friend  
L. Salisbury*

LORD GRAY TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.<sup>1</sup>


the world, and I think might say as much as trewlie in this for his Maieftie, as now haith lyf, his Maiefties self only exceptit. Bot my health is so variable, that I dare nether promit, nor attempt any such burding. Bot his Maiefties self, with a litle cronologicall memoriall, can best informe in that erand of all within this yrl. I leawe, then, to forther occasion and better memorie the pedegre of this malicious desing; and haue anfuert only to your Lordships first point directly, that such letteris they haue at Rome, at what tym receauit, and by whom. Now to the second, whither or no the maiter be trew or fals, appeairantly his Maieftie can best resolue that doubt; for I put it not in question bot he wilbe plaine with yow, seing God haith bliffit him (without all flatterie) with supernaturall and not comoun wit, to see as fare in his owin princely affaires as any that evir did rigne in Europe, and in being plaine, no errour can chance to a prince, bot ether may be redressit or comlie excusit. This practife can not be baptifit a treuth, without his Maieftie, be willing knowledge, haue accordit to the wryting of futch letteris, the sending of them, and wittingly haue signit them. If so he haue, then easie for him is it to remember who gewe his Maieftie so pernicious a counsell. And for his Maiefties exoneration, *Sit malum concilium consultori pessimum qui peccauit in suum caput*: for, indeid, he haith mowit his Maieftie to that inconvenient which long was socht agenst his Maieftie, and yet could never be attenit vnto, nor none that ever haid credit about him durst hazard to motion; albeit it be verie weill knawin to my self, that dyvers practifes haue bene lede for that propos, bothe in the tym I haid credit of his Maieftie, and in tym of my exill, and lykwayis since.<sup>2</sup> Bot for my

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Advocates Library. This letter is unfortunately imperfect, the first sheet being wanting.

<sup>2</sup> The Master of Gray, while residing in Italy in 1599, had discovered King James's letter to the Pope, and transmitted a copy of it to Elizabeth.—*Robertson's History of Scotland*, 8vo., vol. 3, p. 139.

felf, I fand it his Maiefties only weill to follow a contrarie courfs. So I  
 defye all calumnies to tuitch me in that or the lyk cace, and am weill  
 affured his Maieftie will purge me to be cleir of any futch maiter; for I  
 never inclynit once that way, nether in counsell nor action, fince the 83  
 [1583] that I enterit in the Englifh courfs at his Maiefties commandement,  
 wherin I wes the firft that ever brocht it from doubtfulnes and hardnes to  
 that amitie which did in end effectuat all ovr happines. And if my for-  
 tune be to leiwe, I difpaire not yet to reapt for it my owin thankes: althocht,  
 I proteft to God, I am not invyous of any manis happines. Bot I retourne  
 to this practife: if it be fals, one of two, ether a furpryfe, or then a plainly  
 contriuit falthead. If a furpryfe, eafie it is for his Maieftie to divine who  
 could performe futch a hich attemptat, and who in the 600 [1600] yeir  
 haid authoritie or place about him to do it, for it wes to great a mote for  
 a petit compaignon to hawe fwellowit. And if his Maieftie find it a  
 furpryfe, I am perfuadit, fo foun as it fhall come to the notice of the  
 actor, he fhall condemne him felf as for alredy a hangit man, and fo his  
 Maieftie is free. If it be altogether contriuit or conterfit, meiteft it is, in  
 my opinion, that all be keipit fecret, and a practyfe layd down to draw  
 Drommond ether into Scotland or England, which is eafie to do with his  
 Maiefties only connivence, and fo yow fhall decover *le pot aux roses*.  
 Bot my owin opinion is, that altogether it is fals and contrivit: For at my  
 being in Chillinghame, when as her laft Maieftie without her offence wold  
 not permit me to enter in Scotland, till once I fhould come bak to her, and  
 then to go by fea, without any neceffarie ground mowing her to it (God  
 knoweth and your felf) fave her owin pleafur, and I was lothe to difpleafe  
 her; and fo maid promeis and performit; at that tym my wyf came to  
 Chillinghame to me, and at her retourne I commandit her to fay to his  
 Maieftie, that he haid employit verie indiscreit knaifes at Rome; which  
 fche feallit not to fay, Drommond then being in Scotland, bak from Rome:  
 which, all being confiderit, makes me think, if it haid not bene altogether  
 fals, his Maieftie, on the licht I fend him, fould hawe askit Drommond. So  
 my conceat carieth me to think, that the practifer heth abusit his Maieftie  
 altogether. And if this be trew, his Maieftie then, efter Drommonds  
 tryell, can eafelie not only decerne, bot lykwayis ley it af him felf *cum*

*decoro.* Bot I shall, so foun as my health permittis me, on your Lordships advertisment, send yow a litle cronologie for a memoriall of this practife from the infancie of it, for it haith bene in brewing ever since his Maiestie put him self in absolut governement. And yet the lyk avantage could never be haid over his Maiestie till the 600 [1600] yeir. Bot I am presently ill at ease, and I weirie your Lordship, and I doubt me greattumly, in respect of a cawtere in my richt arme, that yow hardly shall reid this, I thocht nocht meit to commit this subiect to the hand of any vther bot to myn owin.

 Yr. Loving friend to  
serve you. Gray.

If your Lordship have occasion to wryt bak, I wold be glaid, if yow have it, that yow sould send me the buk *Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus*, together with the reports from Rome: and shall reid and retourne all.

Your Lordships lettre came to me this Sonday tymly send by Sir William Bowyer the 2 of 8<sup>re</sup>, and this same night have dispetchit him; who shall go from my howfs Fowls, God willing, befor sun ryfing, Monday the 3 8<sup>re</sup>, 1608.

The pest is become about me extreame, so that I am to flee to Edinbruch, in respect of my childring, and I think it wes sum hinder to this berar; who, I think, if your Lordship have forther occasion, shall find me at Edinbruch.

EARL OF SALISBURY TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

MY LORD, hauing receaued an answere from your Lordship, to a letter of myne, (writtin with his Maiesties priuitye and direction), I think it my part to lett yow know what is become of the matter then in question, and how his Maiestie hath accepted your answere.

First, yow shall vnderstand that (since the comming vp of the Lord President),<sup>2</sup> his Maiestie hath fallen into direct termes with him, charging him to haue bene eyther the procurer of those Letters, or partye with those that did it, laying before him (out of the strength of his owne memory) many circumstances to confirme the same: First, he remembreth him how often he folicted his Maiestie to write vnto the Pope: Secondly, how earnest he was for the deliuerie of Sir Edward Dromount<sup>3</sup> when he was called in question for it: Lastly, he seemed to inferre, with verie violent arguments, that, seeing there was fwch a fact, and he at that tyme the onely minister of his dispatches, Keeper of his Signett, and interessed in the cause that should be recommended, he must needs conclude, that he was able to lay open the truthe with all his circumstances; adding serious protestations, that he must not expect in this case to be exempted from such course of examinations as was vsuall in such cafes. That now your Lordship may perceauie what it is when Kings haue right of their fyde, (whome Almightye God, as his annoynted more miraculously preferueth and protecteth then any other of his crætures), and what it worketh when a strong witt in a King fetts it selfe to searce truthe, I must shortly tell yow, that this vnfortunat noble man (euen at the first surprise) gaue himselfe no lesse wound then to confesse so much of the mat-

<sup>1</sup> From the original, in a clerk's hand, in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> James Elphinstone, first Lord Balmerino.

<sup>3</sup> See *Lord Strathallan's Genealogy of the House of Drummond* (p. 153, 1831, 4to) for an account of Sir Edward Drummond, where he is erroneously named *David*. He appears to have been cousin both to Balmerino and the Bishop of Vaison.



ter, as to haue concealed what he knew (*ex post facto*) of that action, whereof he could not denye himselfe to haue bene the propofitor, though not the originall instrument, after he had found his Maiestie took no lyk-  
ing of it.

When thus much had passed from him, which was onely a putting it from himselfe to Dromount, I need not tell yow how closely the King would beare vp to draw the rest. Yow know so much better then I what his Maiesties sharpe and percing judgment was lyke to do, it being sufficient for me to tell yow, that the next degree he was brought to, was, in effect, a plaine confession of the whole fact, and the circumstances; which was no lesse then, that after he had moued his Maiestie to write, and bene refused it, he was so possessed with an opinion, that the consequence of such a recommendacion might be of good vse to him, as he could not free his thoughts of the matter till he had effected it; and therefore, hauing wrought the King to be contented to write to the Cardinall of Lorraine, Duck of Florence, and Duck of Sauoye, in the fauour of Veson,<sup>1</sup> (as he should haue any occation to recommend the same), he watched his opportunitie in a morning when the King was going a hunting, and so shuffled in those letters to the Pope and those two Cardinalls vnder colour of the other, which, being once signed, he caused some spaces, which he had left in the draught of the letters, for *Serenitatis vestræ* to be conuerted into *Sanctitatis vestræ*, and (which was the bitter word indeed) did cause Sir Edward Dromount, in his Romaine hand, to write *filius* aboute *Jacobus* in the subscription, and so gaue order to put the Signett to it.

'Thus hath your Lordship now the story of this vnpleasant subiect, being the discouerie of an offence of this nature in such an officer, as no Prince can escape the danger, if that priuacy of trust be ill applied. To the King this discouerye hath brought an infinite contentment, who, though he knew himselfe pure and innocent in thought and actions, held himselfe still scandalized in the world, before it pleased God to bring this to light; wherein his Maiesties owne memory hath bene the best helpe to redeeme his honor that lay at the stake, for otherwise I see not (Dromount being

<sup>1</sup> William Chisholm, Bishop of Vaison, of the family of Chisholm of Cromlix.

206 PAPERS RELATING TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.

out of hand) how this nobleman could haue bene directly convinced of the same; of whose case I confesse to yow, (for many good parts that were in him), I cannot but be very sory, such men being fooner lost then found; onely this I may assure yow, that vntill his Maiestie saw himselfe as clere as the funne in the firmament, his spiritts were so full of anxietye, as, had he bene my brother, I must rather haue wished his fall then his vexation, to whome, not only as my Souerayne, but as the most dere master that euer seruant had, I owe more then any other both of lyfe and fortune. It remayneth now, my Lord, that I assure your Lordship, though your letter brought him nothing but a confirmation and reuiuing to his memory of those thinges that had passed in former tymes, (for which it seemed he neuer needs memorialls), and wherein I perceauē yow little dreamed of this lighting place, yett the forme of your letter gaue him so much satisfaction as he hath willed me to tell yow, that he held the same to proceed from a hart full of honesty and affection to do him seruice; which newes no man shall make more haft to tell yow, then he shall do at all tymes, that is and euer wilbe

Your Lordships assured louing friend,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'L. Salisbury'. The script is cursive and elegant, with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

Whitehall, this 30th  
of October [1608].

## APPENDIX.



## APPENDIX.

LICENCE, JOHN DUKE OF ALBANY TO PATRICK FOURTH LORD GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

Dux

JHON, be þe grace of Gode, Gouvernar of Scotland, Duke of Albany; and for so mekyll as certane confideracions hes mowyt vs to lycent our cufyng and confiliare Patrik Lord Gray to remane at haym fra þis hoft, proclamyt in to þe fiftene day of Auguft now instant; þairfor We gyfe lycence to þe faid Patrik to pas haym in his awne contray, and to remane in quhat place he plesis, quhil þe parlyament þat is to be haldyng in October nyxt to come, Wee difcharge þe faid Patrik of þe hoſte for faid, and all hoſtis þat is to come, to þe fayd October, and it fall be na pregyteis to hys lyfe, land, or gude, to remane at haym: and We difcharge hym of all thyngis þat may be imputit þairapon; þat wryt ſubſcriwyth with our hand, þe fourtene day of Auguft, þe 3eyr of Gode I<sup>m</sup> v<sup>e</sup> and xv 3eris.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'John', written in a cursive style.

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

KING JAMES V. TO PATRICK GRAY OF BUTTERGASK.<sup>1</sup>

WEILBELOUIT FREIND, We grete 3ow wele; fforfamekill as þat ane half of þe airfchip gudis of vmquhile Patrik Lord Gray, þat last deceffit, pertains to ws throw forfaltour of Johnne Lyoun, sumtyme Lord Glammis, þat ane of þe tua airis of þe faid vmquhile Patrik, and that vþer half pairof pertains, and fuld pertene, to Andro Stratoun of þat Ilk, þat vþer of þe airis of þe faid vmquhile Patrik, and We haue difponit and gevin oure half of þe faid airfchip gudis to þe faid Andro: Quhilkis haill airfchip gudis 3e haue intromettit with, and hes in 3our handis and keping, OURE WILL is heirfore, and We charge 3ow ftraitlie, and commandis þat, incontinent efter þe ficht heiroy, 3e deliuer þe faidis haill airfchip gudis to þe faid Andro Stratoun, for the caus aboue writtin, within sex dais nixt efter þe prefenting and deliuering of þir presents to 3ow, as 3e will report specialle thanks of ws þairfore, and do ws finglar emplefowr, and anfowr to ws þairupoun at 3our vter charge; keiping þis writing for 3our warrand. Subfcriuit with our hand at Craufurd Johne, þe xvj day of Julij, and of our Regnne þe xxviiij 3eir.



To oure weilbelouit freind  
Patrik Gray of Butergask, etc.

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh. Patrick Gray of Buttergask was afterwards fifth Lord Gray.

## APPENDIX.

v

JAMES, EARL OF ARRAN, REGENT, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

### GUBERNATOR

TRAIST COUSING, We commend ws to 3ow hartlie; fforfamekle as We ar  
furelie aduertist pat diuers grete personis of þis realme, baith spirituall and  
temporall, tendis presentlie tocum to þe burgh of Edinburgh, and vtheris  
burrowis of þis realme, with convocatioun and gadering of þe liegis, bodin  
in feir of weir, and in forme of ane army, quhilk is agains þe commoun  
weill, Considering þair is na neccessare caus quhy þe famin suld be done;  
bot, gif it be to vsurpe þe Queins Gracis auctoritie, and .to invaid ws,  
OURE WILL is heirfore, and We charge 3ow straitlie, and commandis, in þe  
Queins Gracis name and auctoritie, þat, incontinent þis oure lettre sene,  
That 3e addres 3ow to be at ws in Lythquho, bodin in feir of weir, with  
3our houshald, kin and freindis, with sex dayis victuall, þe xxiiij day of  
Julij, for þe defens and furthbering of þe Queins Gracis auctoritie, and  
repressing of þame þat wald conspire and conspiris agains þe famin, vnder  
þe paine of treffoun, as 3e will anfuere to ws þairupoun. Gevin vnder  
oure Signet and subscriptioun, at Edinburgh þe xx day of Julij, the 3eir  
of God I<sup>m</sup> v<sup>e</sup> and xliij 3eris.



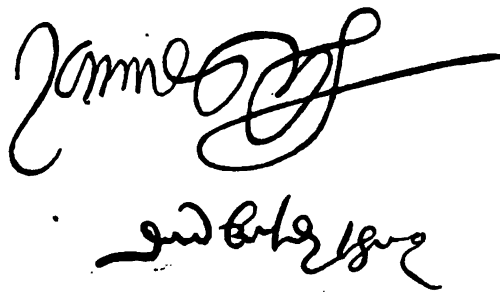
To our traist Cousing and Confalour  
Lord Gray.

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

LICENCE BY JAMES, EARL OF ARRAN, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

## GUBERNATOR

WE, for certane gude and refonable caufis moving ws for þe tyme, and specialie at þe request of þe Quenis Grace, and our bruper Archebald Erle of Ergyle, has gevin and grantit, and be þir presents, gevis and grants ane fre licence and tollerance to our welebelouit coufing Patrik Lord Gray to remane at hame him self, fra þis our present armye convenit at Hadingtoun, þe laft day of Junij in xlviii zers, ay and quhill our said bruper Erle of Ergyle cum þair him self: The said Patrik Lord Gray fend- and fourthe his bruper, with his folks and freinds, to our said armye; and þat nochtwithftanding any our proclamationes past afore herupoun: And will þat þe said Lord Gray incure na crime of leis maieftie perthrow, be byding fra our said armye, nor to be callit nor pwnift in his perfoun, guds nor heretage þerfor, be þis our letter of licence, gevin vnder our signet, and fufcriuit with our hand, At Liddyntoun, þe first day of July in xlviii zers.



<sup>1</sup> From the original in the possession of Francis Lord Gray.





La Bion Tr.  
7/10/11/12.

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MARY OF GUISE, QUEEN REGENT, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

TRAIST COUSING, eftir hartlie commendatioun; We ar aduertift pat þe King of Denmerks navy is ellis within our walteris in fycht of þat north coift, and becaus þe meanyng and intentioun þerof is nocht knawin to ws, for eschewing of inconveniencis, We haue thocht expedient pat ze, and our coufing þe Erle of Arroile, convene þe hale schyre þe gidder in Dundie, and to gif attendance þerupone, and hes fend 3ow lettres to þat effect; Praying 3ow þat ze be deligent in convenyng of þe cuntrie, and await in þe town of Dundie vpone þe faid navy, quhill intelligence may be gottin of þer purpos; as ze luif þe wele of our dereft dochter and hir realme, and will do ws verray hie feruice, and grete plesour in þat behalf. And God kepe 3ow. At Edinburgh þe xxvj day of Junij.

*La Guise Tr.  
11/11/1557*

To our traift coufing  
the Lorde Gray.

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the possession of Francis Lord Gray. There is no year given in this order, but it may, probably, be assigned to 1557, when 'þis 3eire in Julay, Hother Tranberne comes ambassador from the Ladey Anna, Duchesse of Oldenburghe, Vestfrisland, and Delamahurst, to Scotland, and concludes a peace with this croune for 100 3eires.'—*Balfour's Annals*, vol. i. p. 306.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

TRAST COUSING, efter hartlye commendatioun; nochtwithstanding of þe gude report hes bene maid to ws of 3ow, 3eit We ar verray blyith to fe be 3our lettres þe intire affectioun 3e haue evir had to our vmquhill Moperis feruice and ours, and is nocht vnknawing to ws þe contentement sçe had of 3ow, with þe gud will to maik 3ow knaw þe samyn, quhairas We will haue na les of our part, traisting 3e will continew 3our gude affectioun, and þe condigne offices 3e haue vfit, induring thir trubles, amangis 3our freyndes, to continew þame in thair dewtie and obedience aucht to ws; Praying 3ow to gif nowþer fauour nor censfour to na thing bot to [quhat] 3e beleue be conform to our intentions; quhairof 3e fall evir be aduertift, as þe maters fall succeid in thir partis, of þe quhilks We pray 3ow aduertis ws of 3our advis, be frequent vriting. Sua We pray God preferue 3ow. At St Germaines, þe aucht day of October.<sup>2</sup>

*Zon gnd freinde  
mar<sup>e</sup>*

To our coufing the  
Lord Gray.

From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> This letter must have been written in Oct. 1560, as Mary of Guise died in June of that year, and Queen Mary returned to Scotland in August 1561.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO PATRICK, FIFTH LORD GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

TRAIST COUSING, We grete 3ow weill. Oure perliament, quhilk wes appointid to haue bene haldin þe ferd day of Februar instant, is be ws continewit vnto þe xij day of Merche nixtocum; and leift 3e mycht be ignorant of þe said continewatioun, and thairthrow absent 3our selff fra cuming to oure said parliament, We haue thocht gud, be þis oure lettre, to put 3ow in remembrance of þe said continewatioun, and to desire and pray 3ow effectioufflie þat 3e will nocht fail to be at ws in oure burgh of Edinburgh þe ferd day of þe said moneth of Merche, for 3our avys and opinioun to be had in sic things as ar to be treatid in oure said perliament; As 3e will do ws acceptabill seruice and plesour in þat be halff. Subscriuit with oure hands, at oure palice of Halirudhous, þe xxiiij day of Februar, 1565.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'Mary Q'.

To our traist coufing,  
the Lord Gray.

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

TRAIST COUSING, We greit you weill. The baptisme of our dearest sone the Prince wilbe schortlie, and þat in Streueling, quhairvnto the Ambafatours of the gretast Princes in Christandome will resort, and than it is maist neidfoull that we be honorabillie accompanyt, 3e will here of the tyme and dyett; quhilk we pray 3ow effectuauslie addres 3ou to keip, apparellit in sic honest maner as the tyme and occasioun cravis, according to the estait of your hous; ffor 3e will not agane in many 3eiris haue the like thyng in hand; and heirintill 3e will do ws maist thankfull seruice and plesour. Subscriuit with our hand, at Crammald,<sup>2</sup> the xvj day of August, 1566.

MARIE R.

To our traift coufing,  
the Lord Gray etc.

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the possession of Francis, Lord Gray.

<sup>2</sup> Crammald, or Cranalt, now Meggetland, is situated in Peebles-shire.

I have been thinking of you with the best of  
 friends for the past few years and I am thinking of  
 the happiness of the outcast people in your  
 And I am so much pleased to see you so much  
 you will see of the time and all the more  
 about you to be happy in the same way as  
 through the world according to the plan of the  
 and some in many years I am so glad to see you  
 I am sure you will do very much for the  
 in the world and I am so glad to see you  
 1500  
 M. W. R.

I have been thinking of  
 and over  
 C.

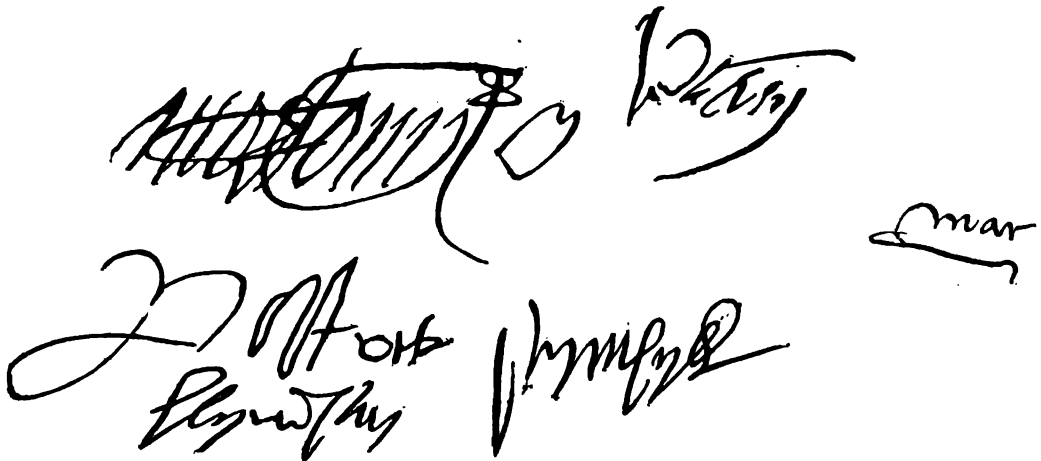




EARL OF MORTON, AND OTHER LORDS, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

MY LORD, eftir maist hertlie commendationes: It is refoluit to difpatche ROBERT, Commendatare of Dunfermling,<sup>2</sup> towardes the Quene of England, with fic a lettir and credit as 3our Lordship may perfaue: And becaus the fame wilbe þe mair honorable, and haue the grettar auctoritie, the mor Noblemen and of the Eftatis that fubfcriue it, we haue fend the lettre and inftruccionis to your Lordship to be fubfcriuit, prayand 3our Lordship to fubfcriue the fame, that þe berar may returne thairwith howfone may be, becaus the fonar the difpatche be maid, the fonar will we reffaue refolution. And fen the neceffitie of this Commoun weill cravis the fame, we doubt not bot 3our Lordship wilbe willing to the furtherance and expedition thairof. And fua for the prefent we commit 3our Lordship in the protection of God. At Edinburgh the xx day of Marche, 1569.

Your Lordships affured freindis,



The block contains several handwritten signatures in black ink. At the top left is a large, stylized signature that appears to be 'Morton'. To its right is another signature, possibly 'Pitcairn'. Below these are two more signatures, one of which is clearly 'Robert Pitcairn'. To the right of the main group of signatures is a small, separate signature that looks like 'mar'.

To my lord, my Lord Gray.

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Pitcairn.

MATHEW, EARL OF LENNOX, REGENT, TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY,  
AFTERWARDS SIXTH LORD GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

RICHT TRAIST COUSING, efter maist hertlie commendatioun, We vnderstand that thair is ane irne zetling,<sup>2</sup> apprehendit in the Forth of Bruchtie, the tyme of the wyning perof, now in your hous of Bruchty, quhairwith we haue presentlie to do for the Kingis seruice; and pairfoir, we desyr zow effectuuilie, that ze will not fail to caus deliuer the said irne zetling, with sic furnitour as she hes ganand for hir, to the berair heiroy, to be transportit to Leyth, as we haue appointit; quhairin ze fall declair your gude affectioun to the Kingis seruice, and will speciall and gude plesour. Thus we committ zow in the protectioun of God. At Striueling, the last day of Auguft, 1571.

Your affurit freind,



And efter the present seruice be done, the fame pece salbe deliuerit to zow agane, ffor we ar constrenit to charge all freindis quhair ordinance is at this tyme.

To our richt traist coufing,  
the Maister of Gray.

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> The following entry appears in the Lord Treasurer's accounts, as the expense of transporting this piece of ordnance and other amunition to Leith:—'Oct. 1571. Item to Robert Gardnar gunnar, for expens maid be him in passing to Perth, Dundie, Bruchtie, and vpers partis, for bringing of ane irne pece, bullettis, and bying of bullettis, tymmer, and boit fraucht to the schoir and peir of Leith, hors hire and feis; as ane compt given in be the said Robert, and subscriuit with his hand, schawin and producit vpon compt beirs, xxvli iij s iiiij d.

DISCHARGE, KING JAMES VI. TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

REX.

WE, be the tenour heirof, giueis and grantis to Patrick Maister of Gray, an full dischairdge of all gould, jowells, claithing, or any vther our menagerie, quhatfumeuer quherwith he haid intromiffioun, be reafoun of his office of Maister of our Gardrob;<sup>2</sup> and exoneris, quytclamis, and frely dischairdges the said Maister of the same for ever; in respect, in prefence of our felfis; he hes maid to the Auditoris of our Eschequer an cleir compt of all his intromiffioun, quhilk ve allou be thir presents. Subfcryuit with our hand at Holyrudhous, the 15 of December, 1586.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "James VI.", with a decorative flourish at the end.

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> The Master of Gray was Master of the King's Wardrobe in June 1585, and it seems he resigned the office on his being appointed Ambassador to England in December 1586. He appears, from the following entry in the Lord Treasurer's accounts, to have again held that office in 1595: 'August, 1595.—Item be his Hienes speciall comand delyverit to Patrik Master of Gray, Master of the Garderob, ane littill coffer to contene the Prince's claithes, viij li.'

QUEEN ANNA TO MARY STEWART, MISTRESS OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

TREEST COUSINGNESS, We greit yow hartlyie weill. The tyme now approaching of our entryie within Dundie, and considring also how necessarye it is for our estate to be honorablye convoyed, we have thought expedient, be thir lynes, to requeist yow to accompanye ws in that iornay; and to that effect we defyre yow to attend vpon ws in the toune of Saint Jhonston, the xj of this instant, quhairby 3e sal do ws maist acceptable plesour. Thus, trusting to the fulfilling of our defyre, we committ yow to God. Fra Falkland, the vj of September, 1597.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Anna R.". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background. The letters are fluid and connected, with a large, sweeping flourish extending from the end of the signature.

To our Right treft coufingness,  
the Maistres of Gray.

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the possession of Francis, Lord Gray.

next business we great now have his will. The time now  
 approaching of our onkies with in dining and consulting all  
 for more sure it is for our estate to be comfortable and secure.  
 we have thought expedient to have bynd to request you to  
 accompanie us in that journey and to hear of the matter  
 you to attend upon us in the same of some few days before  
 of this instant by the way we shall do our mayst acceptable  
 please send by the way to the fulfilling of our desire  
 we commit you to God for fullhand to the of the hand  
 1537

Anna R

To our Right best lovingness  
 the maystobst your  
 - 2 -





I forgot a month when Henry Sted m<sup>r</sup> Gallonay preached that Thomas  
 of Henry was a double bottomed ship and the people and the king were his  
 seat of the minister and not before him.

S<sup>r</sup>. I Landt That same morn<sup>g</sup> I left you last at  
 eight hours and was in danger amongst the Craigies  
 and never in my life so sick. How I met J<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup>,  
 was steward of Edinb<sup>g</sup>: he has no news since of  
 Th<sup>e</sup> Court of Gourges death, he tells it in the same  
 sort as ye have heard it. There is executed m<sup>r</sup> Th<sup>e</sup>:  
 Cranston and George Craigie & John Boners men of  
 St James. They are executed for that they  
 found to be in arms before the rest. His man the  
 ver<sup>y</sup> of him is bootie m<sup>r</sup> William Byrd, and has  
 deposed no thing since that my Lord Stair magister  
 Th<sup>e</sup> and frame and heel spirit is. His chamber  
 Lane we should have slain the king is yet  
 kept. M<sup>r</sup>. Patrick Gallonay has preached all this  
 in the pulpit of Edinb<sup>g</sup>. Both of the magic and  
 treason, but all we are dead confess nothing  
 the k. after the preaching their solemnly that  
 all we ever had preached by his salvation  
 and condemnation. The rest of the ministers was  
 pressed to subscribe that it was true, but they  
 refused yet they granted to thank god for his  
 ma<sup>n</sup> helperme: and so they are banished. Richard  
 Preston is at London, but as yet I know not  
 what they say to him from London ye shall

Does. 28 he is all: And I remaine your loving friend  
 and Conyng - Gray.



LETTER FROM PATRICK SIXTH LORD GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

SIR, I landit that fame nicht I left you lait at eight houris, and ves in danger amongst the Craiges, and never in my lyf so feik. Heir I mete with Thomas Hendryfone of Edinb.; he hes no neues faue of th'Earll of Gouryes death. He tellis it in the fame forte as ye haue hard it. Ther is execute Mr Th. Cranstoun and George Craigingelt, with sevin honest men of St Johnstoun. They ar executed for that they ver fund to be in armes befor the rest. His man vho ves with him is boottit, Mr Villiam Rynd, and hes deponit no thing, faue that my Lord studiit magik in Italie and France, and hed sprittis. His chamberlane, vho should haue flaine the King, is yet keipit. Mr Patrik Gallouay hes preatchit all this in the pulpit of Edinb., bothe of the magic and treasoun, bot all vho ar dead confessit no thing. The King efter the preatching fueir solemnely that all ves treu he hed preatchit, by his saluation and condemnation. The rest of the minifters ves preaffit to subscryue that it ves treu, bot they refusit; yet they grantit to thank God for his Maiesties delyuerence: and so they ar banisfit. Richart Prestoun is at Lonndoun, bot as yet I knou not vhat they say to him. From Londoun ye shall heir all: And I remaine your louing freind and coufing,

GRAY.

Dover, 28 Sept.  
1600.

I forgot amongst vther thingis that Mr Gallouay preatchit, that th'Earle of Goury ves a dealler betuene the Pope and the Kings Maiestie, bot the rest of the minifters vill not beleue him.

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh. The address of this letter is carefully obliterated.

SUMMONS TO PATRICK SIXTH LORD GRAY, TO ATTEND PARLIAMENT.<sup>1</sup>

**EFTER** our verie hairtlie commendationis to your gude Lordship, It has plesit the Kingis Maiestie, for some wechtie and grit confiderationis, to appoint and ordane ane new Conventioun of the Nobilitie, Counsell, and Estaittis of this kingdome, to be assemblit heir at Edinburgh, vpoun the aucht day of August nixtocome, to consult, treat, and deliberat, vpoun sic materis as at that tyme salbe proponit and appynit vp vnto thame; and thairfoir, according to his Maiesteis speciall directioun, We haue heirby thocht meit to requiest and desyre your Lordship effectioufflie, that ze faill not, all excuissis sett asyde, to be heir vpoun the sevint day of the said moneth of August nixt, to the effect ze may be preparit vpoun the morne thairefter to convene with the remanent of the Estaittis, and to confer, auyse, consult and vote, in sic thingis as at that tyme salbe proponit. And sua, resting affured of your preceis keping of this dyett, as ze respect his Maiesteis obedience and seruice, we committ your Lordship to God. Frome Edinburgh the xix day of Junij, 1605.

Your Lordships goode freindis,

*Members Commission.*

*At: Cancell:*

*Secret*

To our very goode Lord,  
the Lord Gray.

<sup>1</sup> From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

WARRANT IN FAVOUR OF PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.<sup>1</sup>

WE, wnderfubfcribeand of his Majesteis counfall of Scotland, conforme to his Majesteis warrant, haveing fichtit and confiderit the fowmeis of money addettit be his Majestie to Patrik Maifter of Gray, Findis the famin to [amount] to the fowme of Nynteine thowfand nyne hundrethe fourfcoir thrie pundis iiij ſ xj d money of Scotland: Quhilk fowme, conforme to his Majesteis warrant, We will and defyre 3ow, Daid Lord of Scone, his Majesteis Comptroller of Scotland, to pay and delyver to the faid Maifter of Gray, and that of the radiest of 3owr intromiffioun in the faid office: Quhairanent his Majesteis warrant foirfaid, with thir prefentis, and the faid Maifteris difcharge, fall be fufficient allowance to 3ou at 3our comptis making. Subfcribeit with our handis, at Perth, the elle-vint day of Julij, 1606.

MONTROISS COMMISSIONAR.

AL. CANCELL<sup>r</sup>.

DOUNBAR.

J. SECRET<sup>r</sup>.

S. T. HAMILTON.

<sup>1</sup> From the original, preserved in the General Register House, Edinb<sup>urgh</sup>.

NOTICES OF THE FAMILY OF GRAY, EXTRACTED FROM THE ACCOUNTS  
OF THE LORDS HIGH TREASURERS OF SCOTLAND, FROM  
THE YEAR 1529 TO THE YEAR 1602.

*Nov. 24, 1529.* Item, to William Cristeson, messinger, pat past to þe Lord Gray,<sup>1</sup> with directions of þe Lordis of Secrete Counsal, xx s̄.

*Sept. 7, 1532.* Item, to ane boy to rynn furth of Sanctiohnestoun, with ane writting to þe Lord Gray, in Fowlis, for money awand be him to þe Kingis Grace, . . . . . xx d̄.

*Sept. 24.* Item, þe xxiiij day of September, to ane boy to rynn to þe Lord Gray, for money awand to þe Kingis Grace, and for ane rentall of þe Erle of Craufurdis propertie, . . . . . viij s̄.

*Nov. 12.* Item, lettres depeschit furth of Falkland, be Maister George Cuke, to þe Bischope of Sanctandrois, þe Lord Gray, &c., for ane conventioun to be had in Edinburgh, . . . . . xl s̄.

*Junij 13, 1533.* Item, to ane man pat raid furth of Sanctiohnestoun to Fowlis to þe Lord Gray, to caus him put þe Lard of Powreis gudis vnder fens, for þe slauchter of Thomas Fotheringhame, . . . . . iij s̄.

Item, to ane boy to pas furth of Striueling to þe Lord Gray, with writtingis for the Lard of Powreis eschete, . . . . . v s̄.

*July 21.* Item, þe xxj day of July to Cuthbert George, m. to pas to inbring dettis owing be Gilbert Gray<sup>2</sup> and vperis in Angus, xx s̄.

*Aug. 31.* Item, to David Dronane, to pas with lettres chargeing þe Lord Gray to content to our Souerane Lord, or his Thesaurer, þe soume of iiij<sup>c</sup> merkis within vj daies, vnder þe pane of rebellioun, . . . . . x s̄.

*Sept. 8.* Item, to ane messinger to pas with þe Kingis wrytingis to þe Erle Rothes and Lord Gray for þe Conventioun, . . . . . x s̄.

*Nov. 28.* Item, þe xxviiij day of Nouember, to James Murray, messinger, to pas to the Lord Gray, to inbring certane sowmes of money awand to þe Kingis Grace to the Thesaurer, . . . . . xx s̄.

<sup>1</sup> Patrick, fourth Lord Gray.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Gilbert Gray of Buttergask.

*Dec. 17.* Item, þe xvij day of December, to Andro Mesfar, meffinger, to pas with clois writingis to þe Erlis Rothois, Montros and Lord Gray, xx š.

*Jan. 2.* Item, to Cuthbert George, meffinger, þe secund day of Januar, to pas to þe Lord Gray, for certane money awand be him to þe Kingis Grace, x š.

*Aug. 28, 1534.* Item, to William Duncane, meffinger, to pas to charge þe Lord Gray to cum againe to þe Chekker, xiiij š.

*Merche, 1536.* Item, þe samyn day to Bute purfevant, to pas with siclik lettres to the Bischopis of Sanctandrois and Brechen, Lordis Gray, &c. (for þair honest prepareing agane þe Kingis Graces hamecuming etc.) xl š.

*April, 1537.* Item, to Carrik purfevant, for his expensis passing to all partes on þe sey coist to caus þe marynaris þat fuld pas in France with þe schippes, cum to Leith and reslaue þair wagis,

Item, to ane boy for passing with siclik writingis to Sir Johne Campbell, and to þe Lord Gray, to caus þair men within Angus cum, v š.

*Julij.* Item, to Johne Paterfoun, for his expensis passing with lettres to summond ane affise to be on þe Lord Ruthvennis inquest, and vperis, for þe oppreffioun done to Alexander Gray of Ballegarno,<sup>1</sup> xxxiiij š.

*Aug.* Item, deliuerit to William Hardy, meffinger, for passing with þe Kingis lettres to Dundè, till mak inhibitioun be oppin proclamatioun, þat nane by þe Lord Grayis landis, &c. xxviiij š.

*June 20, 1541.* Item, þe xx day of Junij, gevin to Johnne Cobe, to pas in Angus, and charge Patrik Gray,<sup>2</sup> to deliuer þe Lord Grayis evidendis, and all vperis, be opin proclamatioun, xxij š.

*July 6.* Item, gevin to Patrik Thomfoun, for his expensis passing to Angus to arrest þe Grayis geir, and inbringing of dettis, xxx š.

*Jan. 24, 1543.* Item, þe xxxiiij day of Januar, to ane boy fend furth of Striueling with ane writting of my Lord Gouvernouris to þe Lord Gray

<sup>1</sup> The Grays of Ballegarno were descended of Andrew Gray, son of the first Lord Gray.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick Gray of Buttergask, afterwards fifth Lord Gray. This and the following entry appear to refer to the subject of the letter by King James V., printed in the Appendix, p. iv.

in þe Blaknes,<sup>1</sup> and ane other to þe Abbot of Dunnfermling, and for his travell, and with þe anser agane to Sanct Johnstoun, . . . v s̄.

*Jan. 27.* Item, to ane boy fend furth of Dundè to þe Blaknes with ane writting to þe Lord Gray, . . . v s̄.

*Jan. 31.* Item, þe famyn day to ane other boy fend furth of Aberbrothok with ane writting of my Lord Gouvernoris to þe Blaknes for my Lord Gray, . . . v s̄.

*Oct. 25, 1544.* Item, þe xxv day of October, to Adam Foreman, mafer, direct to Sanct Johnstoun to tak assurance betuyx my Lord Gray and the Laird of Cragy, . . . xl s̄.

*Nov. 25, 1546.* Item, þe famyn day John Forfythe, messinger, letteris to poinde for certane vnlawes in Angus; togidder with clofit writtingis to þe Lordes Gray, Ogilwe, &c. . . xxx s̄.

*Merche 13.* Item, to Barre, messinger, clofit writtings of my Lord Gouvernoures, directt to my Lorde Gray in Angus, . . . xiiij s̄.

*July 1, 1547.* Item, to Mr Johnne Forfythe letteris of proclamatioun directt to Cowper, and all þe townnes vpoun þe coist fyde, chairgeing þame þat þai suld remaine vpoun þe coist fyde, nochtwithstanding þe rumor ryffyn of þe departing of þe Inglishe schippes; and þat þai keip þair dyet to conveine at Peblis the xij day of July instant; togidder with missivis to all þe gentillmen of Fyfe to keip þe famyn, . . . xxx s̄.

Item, Hwtoun, sicklik myffives to þe Abbot of Lundores, Lordes Glammys, Gray, Ogilwe, &c. . . xxx s̄.

*Aug. 23.* Item, xxij<sup>o</sup> Augusti, my Lord Gouvernouris Grace and Counsale being surely advertist þat þe army of Ingland wes at handis, To Mathew Stratherne, messinger, letteris of proclamatioun, with þe fire croce to Kincardine, Aberdene, &c.; and billis agane to the Erllis of Huntlie, Arrole, and Maister of Forbes.

Item, Hwtoun, sicklike letteris, with the fire croce, to Fyfe and Forfair, with billis to þe Erllis of Rothes, Craufurde, Lordis Gray, &c.

*Dec.* Item, my Lord Gouvernour and my Lord of Dunkeld being in Perth, hyrit tua horfs, and fend with gawillockes, pikes and mattokis, to

<sup>1</sup> Patrick fifth Lord Gray. He appears to have been at this time warded in Blackness Castle.

haue affailyeit þe hous of Huntlie, in cais þe famyn had nocht bene randerit to þame, ix dayes wages, ilk horse vpoun þe day iij ſ; ſumma, lvj ſ.

Item, to Dauid Dog and Williame Thekar, mafones and quariouris ſend with þame, . . . . . iijl. x ſ.

Item, be his Graces commande, to Dauid Dog to pas to Huntlie to bear his expenſis, . . . . . v l.

*Dec. 18.* Item, xvij Decembris, to Johne Hart, meſſinger, letteris direct, chargeing certane perſones within þe Lord Grayes houſſes of Huntlie to deliuer þe ſame to þe Tutour of Petcur and Laird of Inchemertyne, to be kept be him to þe Quenis Grace behufe; and letteris to þe ſaid Tutor to reſſaue þe ſame.

Item, to ane other boy ſend to Perth to my Lorde Dunkeld with ſummondis of treſſoun raſit vpoun þe Lord Gray, . . . . . x ſ.

*Dec. 31.* Item, to Sir Johnne Mortimar direct furth of Edinburgh, with ane writting of my Lord Gouvernouris to my Lord Gray, xlv ſ.

*Januar.* Item, þe tyme of my Lorde Grayis entrè in waird within þe Caſtell of Edinburgh, boucht foure lokes to be hung vpoun foure durris within þe ſaid caſtell, . . . . . xx ſ.

*Apr. 1558.* Item, þe ix day of Aprile, to Alexander Cunnyngham, meſſinger, paſſand of Edinburgh with lettres of proclamatioun to þe mercat croces of þe ſherefeldomes of Forfair and Kincardine, chargeing all and ſindrie erlis, lordis, baronis, and frehalderis, etc., That þai, weil bodin in feir of weir, addreſs þame to cum forwartis, and be in þe townis of Dunſ and Langtoun þe xvij day of Aprile instant, with xv dais victualis efter þair cumming, vnder þe pane of tinfale of life, landis and guidis, etc. Togidder with clois writtingis of þe Quenis Grace to þe Erle Mercheale, Craufurde, Lordis Gray and Innermaith, and to þe effect foirſaid, lv ſ.

*Aug. 1561.* Item, þe vij day of Auguſt, to Peter Craik, meſſinger, paſſand of Edinburgh with clois writtings of þe Lordis of Secreit Counſale, to þe Erle of Rothes, Lordis Gray, Glammiſ, &c. to be in Edinburgh with þair honorable cumpaneis to þe Queins Grace enteres furth of France, agane þe laſt day of Auguſt, . . . . . xlv ſ.

Item, þe thrid day of December, to ane boy paſſand of Edinburgh with ane clois writting of the Queins Grace to my Lord Gray, . . . ix ſ.

*Marche* 8, 1561. Item, þe said day Williame Logane, messinger, passand of Edinburgh, with lettres to chaarge Johne Ogiluy of Innerkeilour to mak payment of þe sowme of xxxiiij l̄ vj s̄ viij d̄, as cautioun and souertie for Agnes Gray, Ladie of Restalrig,<sup>1</sup> . . . . . xx s̄.

*Aug.* 1562. Item, þe secund day of August, to Johne Paterfone, herauld, passand of Edinburgh, with lettres of proclamatioun to þe mercat croces within þe sherefdomes of Forfare and Kincardin, chargeing all and fundrie erlis, lordis, barones, landit men and frehalderis within þe saidis bounds, that thai, with pair freinds and substantius houshald men, addres pame to meit our Souerane Ladie at Abirdene þe xxiiij day of August instant, and pair to await for þe space of ane moneth. Togidder with clois writtingis of the Quenis Grace to þe Erlis Merscheale, Craufurde, Lordis Glammis, Gray, and Innermaith, to þe effect foirsaid, iij l̄.

Item, þe said xix day of October, to ane boy passand of Abirdene, with clois writtingis of the Quenis Grace to the Abbote of Cowpar, Lordis Glammis, Gray, &c. . . . . xxvj s̄.

*May* 6, 1565. Item, þe said day to ane boy passand of Edinburgh, with clois writtingis of þe Quenis Grace to þe Erlis Mersschell, Craufurde, Lordis Gray, &c. . . . . xxxiiij s̄. iij d̄.

*Sept.* 2. Item, þe secund day of September, to ane boy passand of Glasgw, with clois writtingis of our Souerains to þe Erlis of Craufurde, Errole, Lordis Gray, Glammis, &c. . . . . xl s̄.

*Jan.* 30. Item, þe said day to Robert Skart, post, passand of Edinburgh, with clois writtingis of our Souerains to þe Erle of Mar, Lord Gray, &c. . . . . xxiiij s̄.

*Aprile* 14, 1568. Item, þe said day to twa boyis passand of Edinburgh at fundrie tymes, with clois writtingis of þe Comptaris to my Lord Gray, . . . . . xxx s̄.

*May.* Item, þe first day of Maij, to ane boy passand of Glasgw, with clois writtingis of my Lord Regentis Grace to þe Lordis Gray, &c. concerning þe affaris of my Lord Ambassadour of France, . . . . . iij l̄.

<sup>1</sup> She was the daughter of Patrick fifth Lord Gray, and married, first, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig; secondly, Alexander fifth Lord Home; and thirdly, Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar, High Treasurer of Scotland.



*Aprile 27, 1569.* Item, þe said day, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh, with ane clois writting of my Lord Regentis Grace to my Lord Gray, . . . . . xiiij s̄ iiij d̄.

*Sept. 23.* Item, þe said day, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh, with clois writtingis of þe Comptaris to my Ladie Gray,<sup>1</sup> . . . . . xx s̄.

*Aug. 1571.* Item, the ferd day of August, to ane boy passand of Leyth, with clois writtings of my Lord Regentis Grace to the Lords Gray, Ogilvy, &c. . . . . x s̄.

*March 1572.* Item, þe last day of Merche, to Andro Annand, massenger, passand with lettres of Leith, to charge Patrik Lord Gray, James Crychtoun of Ruthven, to compeir befor my Lord Regentis Grace and Lordis of Secreit Counsil, the tent day of Aprile nixtocum, to ansuer to sic thingis as sould be laid to þair charge. Togidder with lettres to charge James Lord Ogilvy to departe of þis cuntrie, conforme to his licence, betuix and þe first day of Maij nixtocum, with certificatioun, etc. . . . . vj s̄.

*May 14.* Item, þe said day, to ane boy passand of Leith, with clois writing of my Lord Regentis Grace to þe Erles Craufuird, Mersschell, Buchane, Lords Glammis and Gray, . . . . .

*Februar 28.* Item, for expenssis maid be Gawin Ramsay, messenger, vpoun certane taskaris in threshing of þe cornis in Gogar, perteing to Dame Agnes Gray, Lady Home, hors hyris in carieing of þe same to Edinburgh, hous maill, custome, and vther small chargeis; as ane compt subscruiit be þe said Gawin, produceit vpoun compt, beris, xvj s̄. xj s̄. ij d̄.

*Marche 1, 1573.* Item, þe said day, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh, with ane clois writing of my Lord Regentis Grace to þe Lord Gray, xvj s̄.

*Feb. 1581.* Item, remittit and dischargit be his Maiesties precept, to his Hienes rycht traist coung and counsalor, Efme Duicke of Levinox, Erle Dornlie, etc. the compositioun of the escheit of James Gray,<sup>2</sup> fone lauchfull to Patrick Lord Gray, as the said precept producit vpoun compt beris, . . . . . 1<sup>c</sup> lib.

<sup>1</sup> Marion, daughter of James Lord Ogilvy of Airly.  
Patrick fifth Lord Gray.

<sup>2</sup> James Gray, fourth son of

1582. Item, the third of September, to ane boy passand with clois lettres to Lordis Ogilvie, Gray, and Innermeith, &c.    iij l. vj s. viij d.

*Junij* 1585. Item, deliuerit to Patrik Master of Gray, master of his Hienes gairdrobe, xlvij elnis of small Holand clayth, to be scheittis to his Maiestie, price of the eln, inde . . . . . j<sup>c</sup>xx li

*Sept.* 1585. Item, be his Hienes precept to his traift coufing and counsailour, Patrik Master of Gray, the compositionis of the signatouris following, for furnessing of his Hienes claythis, for the quhilk the Master of Gray suld be comptable. That is to say, the maillis, fermes, and dewties of the landis of Restenneth, xxvj lib. xij s. iij d; the escheat of Robert Guthrie of Lunane, disponit to James Gray, bruther to the said Maister of Gray, xl l; ane remissioun to George Erle of Merfchell, etc. ij<sup>m</sup> l; the escheat of Gawane Carmichaell, xij l. vj s. viij d.; ane respect to Stevin Burntfeild, xij l. vj s. viij d.; ane remissioun to Thomas Home, xij l. vj s. viij d. The escheit of Lovell of Balumby, iij<sup>c</sup> l. Omittis vntane allowance of in þe last compt of the lxxxiiij, the composition of þe discharge grantit be his Hienes to Johne Burntfeild, and certane vtheris, as cautioneris for him, of þe pane and vnlaw quherin they wer adiudgit j<sup>c</sup>xxxij l. vj s. viij d.; and als reffaut be the said Patrik fra Sir Robert Meluille of Mordecairnie, knight, Thesaurare depute, ane hundreth crounis, at l s. þe pece, extending in þe haille to the foun of . . . . . vj<sup>m</sup>. viij<sup>c</sup> lxxxx l.

*Oct.* Item, be his Maiesties speciale command, to ane fervand of the Master of Grayes, in drink filuer, at þe presenting of ane hors callit Blacklegis to his Hienes, twa crounis, at l s þe pece, inde, . . . . . v l.

Item, be his Maiesties precept to Griffell Hamiltoun, his Hienes femstare, for the furnessing of certane wark and necessaris deliuerit to Patrik Master of Gray to his Maiesties vse, as the samin is producit vpoun compt beris, . . . . . j<sup>c</sup>xx l.

*Dec.* Item, to ane boy passand of Lynlythgow, with clois lettres to Patrik Master of Gray, Commendatare of Dunfermeling, Commendatare of Culros, Lord Gray,<sup>1</sup> &c., . . . . . iij l. xj s.

<sup>1</sup> Patrick sixth Lord Gray.

Item, to ane boy passand of Lynlythgow with a clois lettre to Dunfermeling to be Master of Gray, . . . . . xiiij s. iiij d.

*May* 1586. Item, the Comptare aucht to be discharged of the foun of thre thousand thre hundreth threttie thre pundis, sex schillings aucht penies, refaut be Patrik Master of Gray fra the Proveft of Lynclouden, becaus the comptar has chargit him perwith, vj<sup>m</sup>. iiij<sup>x</sup>xxxiiij l. vj s. viij d.

The Master of Gray grantit the resait of this sowme.

*Feb.* 1587. Item, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh with clois letters to be Lordis Gray and Sinclair, &c., . . . . .

*Oct.* 1590. The Comptar aucht to be dischargit of be sowmes of money underwritten, whereof a part receiued by his Maiestie. Lykwayis be his Maiestie be compositioun of the escheat and lyfrent of Patrik Lord Gray, extending to . . . . . iiij<sup>x</sup>xl l.

*Nov.* 1592. Item, to John Henderfon, messenger, and ane trumpetour with him passand to be mercat-croce of Edinburgh, to proclame summonds of treffoun agais Patrik Master of Gray, &c., to compear in be parliament to be halden in the tolbuthe of Edinburgh, in the moneth of Januare nixt, to answer, etc., . . . . . xiiij l. vj s. viij d.

*June* 1593. Item, to Niniane Weir, messenger, passand to Edinburgh, with lettres to command and charge James Gray, sone lauchfull to Patrik Lord Gray, to exhibite and produce Margaret Carnegie, personallie befor his Maiestie and Lordes of Secret Counsaile, vpoun the xxj day of Junij instant, vnder the pane of rebelloun, after the forme and tenour of the saidis lettres, . . . . . v l.

*Feb.* 1594. Item, to William Scot, messenger, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to charge Patrik Lord Gray, and Patrik Maister of Gray, Sheref principall of Forfare; as alsua all and findrie be barrownis and landit men duelland to landwart within the boundis of be said sherfdome, and be proveft, bailies, counfall and communitie of Dundie, to demolishe, and caus be demolisshit, the place, hous, and fortalice of Craig, betuix and the tent day of Merche nixtocum, vnder the pane of rebelloun, v l.

*May* 1595. Item, to John Bannatyne, messenger, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to command and charge Lodouik Duke of Lennox, Archibald Erle of Argyle, John Erle of Mar, the Constable of Dundie, the lairds of Towcht, Sauchy, and Langschaw, as cautioners on be ane parte: John

d

Erle of Athole, Patrik Maister of Gray, James Gray his brother, Thomas Stewart of Garntulie, James Stewart of Touchis, Mr Patrik Quhytlaw of Newgrange, his cautioners on þe vther parts; Sir Archibald Stirling of Keir, knyght, John Murray of Polmais, John Erkyne of Balgonie, his cautioners; William Schaw of Knockhill, the laird of Sauchy his cautioner; the laird of Merchaitoun eldare and younger; to enter and present certane of þe M<sup>c</sup>Gregors and other broken men of þe Hielandis, to compeir and vnderly ordour anent peace and quietnes, . xv l. vj s. viij d.

*August 1595.* Item, be his Hienes speciall command delyverit to Patrik Maister of Gray, maister of the garderob, ane littill coffer to contene the Princes claithis, . . . . . viij l.

*Dec. 1595.* Item, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh with clois lettres to the Erle Merfchell, Lord Gray and Spynie, the Maister of Gray, vj l.

*Nov. 1596.* Item, to ane uther boy passand of Edinburgh with clois letteris to the Erle of Rothes, Lordis Lindfay, Gray, Constable of Dundy, Lairdis of Balweiry, Lundy, Eifter and Wester Weymis, Torrie, and Bonyntoun, for wyld meit and veniefoun to the baptisme of the Princes, and to cum and tak part thair of thameselfis the xxviij of this instant, v l.

*May 1598.* Item, to John Downy, messenger, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to charge Patrik Maister of Gray, theref of Forfair, to compeir afoir the Counfall the viij day of Junij nixt, to ansuer vpoun his diligence in the execution of the commiffion grantit to him aganis Patrik Lord Gray, Alex. Lawder of Vmoquhie, Henrie Futhie of Boyfak, and certane vthers rebellis within the boundis of his office, vnder the pane of rebelloun, v l.

*Oct. 1599.* Item, to Walter Forfyth, messenger, passand with lettres to the mercat croce of Edinburgh and peir of Leith, and thairat be oppin proclamacioun fumonding Alexander Lord Home and Patrik Maister of Gray, vpone lx dayis warning, to compeir befoir þe Lordis of Sessioun, and heir declaratour gevin on thair lyverentis, . . . . . xx s.

Item, to George Cuninghame, officer in þat part, passand with þe samin lettres to fumond þe said Patrik Maister of Gray at þe mercat croce of Forfar and his duelling hous of Huntlie, . . . . . iij l.

*Jan. 1600.* Item, to Richart Bowmaker, sheriff in that part, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to fummond Patrik Lord Gray, Johne Ogilvie

of Innerquhartie, and Thomas Lyoun of Cossuns, to compeir befor þe Lords of Sessioun the xxv of Februar nixt, to heir declaratour pronuncit on thair escheit and lyverentis, . . . . . iiij l.

*Aprile.* Item, to William Baxter, theriff in þat pairt, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to summond Robert Logane of Listarik, Maistres Marie Stewart, spous to Patrik Maister of Gray, and the said Patrik Maister of Gray, be oppin proclamatioun at the mercat croce of Edinburgh, peir and schoir of Leith, and mercat croce of Forfar, to compeir befor the Lords of Sessioun to heir þame decernit to pay the soume of xij<sup>e</sup> merks, etc. . . . . iij l.

*Aprile 1602.* Item, to ane boy passand of Brechin with clois lettres to the laird of Poury Fotheringhame, . . . Dowglas, dochter to the Erle of Angus, and Jeane Gray, dochter to the Maister of Gray, . . . xx s.

*Dec.* Item, to William Forsyth, messenger, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to charge Patrik Maister of Gray to pas and entir his persoun in wairde in the place of Huntlie, within thrie dayis, vnder the paine of rebelloun, . . . . . v l.



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